

THE
FIRST LADY WHARNCLIFFE
AND HER FAMILY
(1779-1856)

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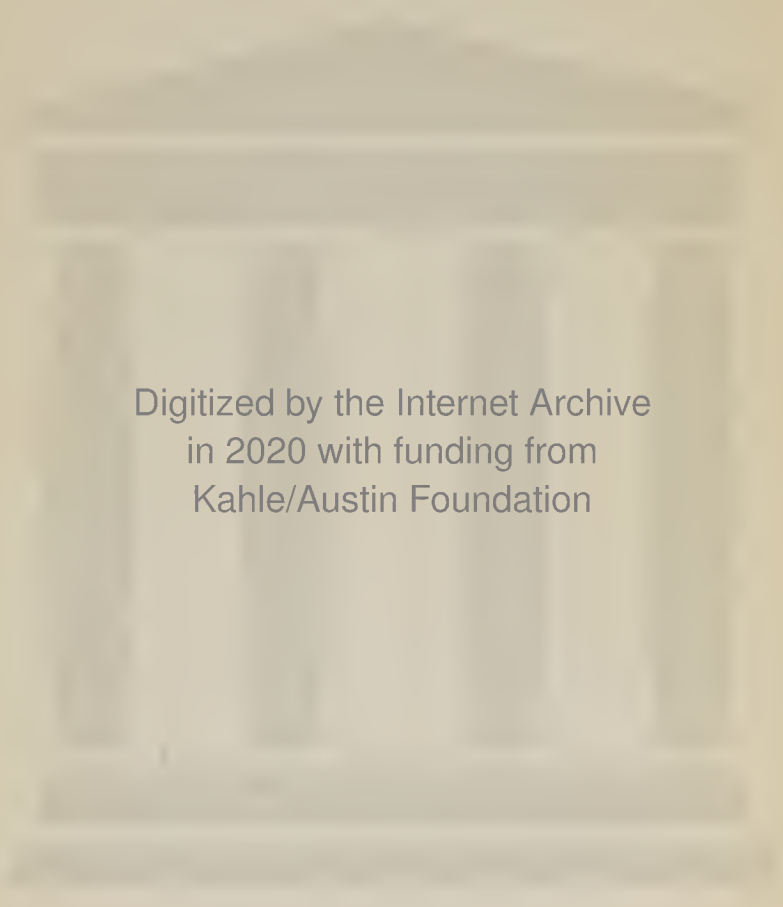
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CAROLINE, LADY WHARNCLIFFE

By Sir Francis Grant, P.R.A. In the possession of Lady Stuart of Wortley.

THE
FIRST LADY WHARNCLIFFE
AND HER FAMILY
(1779-1856)

BY HER GRANDCHILDREN
CAROLINE GROSVENOR
AND THE LATE
CHARLES BEILBY, LORD STUART OF WORTLEY

VOL. II



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GLOSSARY OF FAMILY WORDS

CAYENNE. To pepper, scold, abuse.

DISTORTION. Agitation or upset.

GUB. Sad, touching or touched.

MONKEY (from French, *manqué*). Failure or disappointment.

PUFF. Offended, huffy.

Sticco. Unpleasantness.

NICKNAMES

BOON. Lady Wharncliffe's maid.

GHEE or GI. Lady Erne's maid.

GONG }
and } Mr. John Chetwynd Talbot.
GIRAFFE }

GOOMA. Children's name for their grandmother, Lady Erne.

GUOG. General William Hervey.

LAL-LAL. The Earl-Bishop's nickname for his granddaughter Elizabeth Caroline Mary Creighton.

MIA. The children's nurse.

MISSY or PUSSKIN. The younger Caroline Stuart Wortley
(afterwards Mrs. John C. Talbot).

PER. Lady Louisa Percy.

POPS. Mr. James Stuart Wortley Mackenzie—the children's grandfather.

So. Miss Sophia Upton.

TA. Charles Stuart Wortley.

ZAC
THE DOG
THE DOGE
THE GOVERNOR

} James A. Stuart Wortley (afterwards Lord Wharncliffe).

CHAPTER XVIII

(1826-1827)

Paris once more—Young Caroline's education—John Stuart Wortley seconds Address in House of Commons—Missy's confirmation—Little breakfasts at the Embassy—Duke of Devonshire's little larking parties—Young James Stuart Wortley at Christ Church—Goes to Newmarket—James Stuart Wortley is offered Peerage : takes title of Wharnccliffe—Young James meets with Pasta—Sings duet in *Semiramide* with her—Sudden breakdown of Lord Liverpool—Difficulty of replacing him—Canning forms Coalition Government—Lord Lansdowne's hesitation—He takes office—A night at the House of Lords—The Queen of Würtemberg's return—Canning's new Government : unacceptable to Grey and Wellington—Canning's death at Chiswick—Battle of Navarino—"A bonfire of fleet of good Ally"—Lord Goderich succeeds Canning.

AFTER John's wedding Lady Caroline returns to Paris, and once more regretfully parts from the Doge. Once more she is preoccupied with the younger Caroline's education, which she is optimistic enough to believe can be carried on in the midst of balls and parties.

"January 4, 1826.

"... Pusskin is beginning to be busy with her masters, and dines at 4 o'clock unless I dine at home, & goes no where of an evening but to the Theatre sometimes, so that she has her evenings to herself very much & goes to bed in good time. Her *first* Ball will be Lady Granvilles whenever that takes place, which is not yet fix'd, & after that I shall take her only to one now & then, & as one does not go earlier to Balls here than in London, she will still have the *early* part of the evening to employ herself in. . . ."

A rival preoccupation is John's political career. At the opening of Parliament in February 1826 he was chosen to

second the Address. He was then member for Bossiney, the family pocket borough.

From Lady Caroline Stuart Wortley to Lady Erne

“Feb. 6, 1826.

“ . . . A thousand thanks for all you tell me ; I should have been much disappointed if you had given me fewer details both before & on the awful day, or had not told me *every word* you had heard on the subject. The reports of our dear Boy’s success is no more than I in fact expected, tho’ till the day was past, I could not think of him without nervousness & anxiety. I cannot *at all* conceive all those most fond of him having gone to hear him ! How differently people feel on almost all subjects ! . . . I hope I shall hear still more about this interesting subject in some of my next letters, when the opinion of more people is known. I should like to know whether Mr. Canning was satisfied with him. The King’s Speech was really a most difficult & dry one to make a good speech upon. . . .

“Pray give my kind love to Lord Liverpool, & tell him how pleased I am with *his* approbation of John. . . .”

“February 17, 1826.

“ . . . I went last night to Lady Downshires, & was introduced to Madame Apponyi, who *was* to have been our Ambassadress in England, I hear she is very sorry to stay here instead. She is certainly a very pleasing, captivating person & I am told very amiable, but a little too sentimental in her manner & expressions for *me*. She is *very* thin, but I think her very pretty. Lady Downshire had a dinner for her, & a little party in the evening. To night is Lady Granville’s regular reception, & always the pleasantest thing in Paris, altho’ she is obliged sometimes to ask *Angels*, & *treasures* of both the french & English nation, but there never are much more than 300 people, with four rooms open’d, beautifully furnished & lighted, & opening into a conservatory which goes all round the inside of the garden

front, also lighted & carpetted. It is lovely, & the french are in *fits* of delight & admiration at it. . . .”

Madame de Lieven, writing of Madame Apponyi, said, “Elle est d’une sentimentalité qui me durcit le cœur.”

The next letter is an amusing and very human jumble in which Missy’s improvement, little breakfasts at the Embassy, the child’s confirmation, and the Duke of Devonshire’s “little larking parties” are all mixed together.

“PARIS, *March 20th*, 1826.

“. . . I am quite delighted to find that you & the Doge approve of our taking all the time we can here for Missy’s improvement; & always hoped we should have an ally in *you* about shortening the *London season* on account of late hours as well as waste of time. Dear Lady Granville is quite anxious too that she should stay for her Saturdays when they turn into little breakfasts, & perhaps little dances, which being a morning affair is perfect for *half out* creatures. She now receives every Saturday any body that likes to call from 2 till 5, & people whom she knows well bring their Children. Yesterday there were ten or a dozen little things running about the Conservatory, & it was quite a pretty sight. . . .

“I am happy to say she [Lady Granville] is to be at home this evening in a quiet way in what we call the green room, which is the drawing room *up stairs*, furnish’d with green, & much more comfortable than the more splendid rooms below. I was charm’d & touch’d beyond measure with her kindness to my Child yesterday, who was confirm’d at the same time with hers. A good deal had passed upon the subject, all of which I will relate when we meet, but it would be too long in a letter. But the interest she took in it all was quite charming. It is a very affecting ceremony tho’ certainly one of mere form, & we *all cried*—the dear girls with their bare heads looking so innocent & so earnest, kneeling before the Bishop! On Good Friday they both receive the Sacrament. . . .

“ The Duke of Devonshire gave a very pleasant dinner the other day at the Rocher de Cancale to a party of 14, of which I was one. We afterwards went to one of the little Theatres at which he had taken three Boxes. These little larking parties are one of the charms of Paris at this season. . . .”

On March 27 Lady Caroline writes that Lady Granville

“ was very much vex'd & disappointed at not being able to receive the Sacrament yesterday morning with her Girl. Missy was so anxious to take it at the same time with her, that I routed myself up for that purpose to go to nine o'clock prayers, when it was settled by Lady Granville they should take it, because it would be quieter & very few people would be there at that early hour. I certainly never thought Missy would receive her première Communion at Paris! Yet it could not have happen'd under more favourable circumstances.

“ You cannot think how kind the Duke of Devonshire has been about her, & to her, once or twice that he has seen her at the Embassy. He told me yesterday he liked her “ so much ”! I dare say Lady Granville's partiality, & Susan's *passion* for her, have disposed him in her favor. He is grown also quite tender to me, & said much about coming to Wortley where he pretended he had only a *general invitation*. But I would not ‘ suck in ’ that excuse, & cayenne'd¹ him well—so his sincerity will not be put to the test. By the bye, I had on yesterday round my neck *your cadeau*, & he thought it beautiful. I told him all the history, & amused him much by saying that whenever you gave me these handsome presents I never thank'd you, but sent you an *amazing* scold. It is impossible for me to explain to you what it is like, but it is so exactly the thing I wanted, & that I certainly should never have given myself, that I hope you will be pleased. All I can describe is, that it is a work'd cross & chain in gold & color'd enamel—& *time*

¹ See Glossary, p. xiii.

of day as well as pretty, & something like a very delicate chapelet of the *15th Century*.

“So the Governor means to come over in May to enjoy himself here a little while before we return? I am very glad for all our sakes—I am sure he will be delighted. By the bye, he says we had better take care (*Missy & me*) that *both* our noses are not put out of joint by Georgy. . . .”

Young James, now at Christ Church, Oxford, writes some time during the summer of 1826 to his mother :

“You will perhaps have heard from Papa that I have been with him to Newmarket to see ‘the Dragon’ beat; I had an opportunity of getting away from here for a couple of nights, so I started to London to hear the Debate on Thursday evening, & intending to go down with the Governor to Newmarket. I met him at the door of the House of Commons, to his great surprize, & off we set together for Newmarket. We were all very much disappointed at the Dragon’s defeat, particularly after Referee’s race which made us feel very confident. Altogether however the events of the week were very satisfactory, & I feel very strong hopes of our eventually winning the St. Leger! . . .

“I was very near being tempted to stay for Pasta¹ in Romeo, but was *virtuous* enough to resist. They say she is more charming than ever, & I thought if I heard her once it would only make me repent my necessary absence from London for the next 5 weeks the more. . . .

“Give my best love to ‘the thing’ [his sister Caroline], & tell her I will write soon if I can steal a few moments from my *studies* for that purpose.”

In June 1826 Mr. Wortley was offered a peerage and

¹ Giuditta Pasta (1798–1865). Italian Jewess. Had a splendid but somewhat unmanageable soprano voice. Excited wild enthusiasm in Paris, 1821. Her acting was extremely good. Talma is said to have exclaimed, “Here is a woman of whom I can still learn something.”

decided to accept it and to take the title of Wharncliffe. His seat for the County of York was thus vacated.

From James Stuart Wortley (the younger)

“CHRIST CHURCH, *Tuesday*.

“I was not a little surprised at the announcement which your letter contained. Under all the circumstances & considering the near approach of a contested Election, & the increased number of the members for Yorkshire, &c., I cannot but consider it as a subject for congratulation. I can perfectly understand your all feeling considerably perplexed at first, but from the manner in which the offer has been made, & the excellent opportunity it affords of getting rid of the Election, there could not be a doubt about accepting it. I have seen My Father’s address in the Papers, which seems to me particularly good.

“In the mean time the circumstance is extremely convenient to me, as it will hereafter confer upon me a ‘privilege’, by which I am enabled to come up to town directly, & I shall therefore follow this letter in a few hours & probably be in Curzon Street tomorrow evening, or at any rate the next day. Pray congratulate Papa for me, & tell him that I do not trouble him with a letter because I shall so soon have an opportunity of seeing him—this, you & ‘the thing’ will ascribe to my ‘usual luck’.”

From Lady Caroline Stuart Wortley

“CURZON STREET, *Saturday*.

“... The Governor set off this morning for York with his two sons, & hopes to be back to dinner on Wednesday. We shall probably be gazetted on Tuesday, but it was not till yesterday that the Doge got a letter from the Home Office requiring his *style & title*, & referring him to Garter King at Arms for his Supporters, &c., previously to being gazetted. Every body now seems pleased with Wharncliffe. The King was beyond

measure kind & gracious to the Doge at Ascot, & when he told him his last decision, *approved*, but added, ' My good fellow you will now be the Dragon of Wharncliffe all the rest of your life '. When we meet I will tell you the various little circumstances that induced us to relinquish Stuart. . . ."

From James Stuart Wortley (the younger)

"YORK, June 13, 1826.

"We have had a stormy day in all senses of the word. The meeting was extraordinarily full, & very noisy. The event of the shew of hands was that Mr. Bethell was declared the first, Mr. Duncombe the second, Wilson next, & Lord Milton & Mr. Marshall equal. Notwithstanding however this brilliant beginning, Mr. Bethell has this evening, in consequence of a deficiency of money, come to the determination of retiring. We are all extremely sorry. My Father spoke at the end of the day, & from their previous excitement & fatigue, not to speak of a ducking from a violent thunder-storm, he had some difficulty at first in obtaining a hearing, but when once he had begun they heard him attentively, and expressed their approbation very strongly. The meeting ended with a vote of thanks to my Father for his past services.

"We go to Wortley tomorrow for a night. I shall be in London on Thursday to dinner."

Lady Caroline's third son, James,¹ is mentioned in various memoirs of the time as singing delightfully. That he had to the last day of his life an intense love of music is a fact well known to his children. He took lessons from the elder Garcia, the father of Pauline Viardot and of Malibran.

"GROSVENOR SQUARE,
"Monday, July 24, 1826.

"I am just come up for a few hours from Wimbledon, where I return to dinner as Pasta stays over tonight. . . . I have not only had the honour of passing yester-

¹ He was the father of the writers of this book.

day evening & this morning in Pasta's company, with the prospect of the same this evening, but I met her also the other day at Ken Wood, where she dined & slept. She was in tearing spirits, & was laughing the whole night, & making them laugh with anecdotes of her jeunesse, & of some absurd tricks that she played a painter who lived in the house with them some time in Italy autrefois. She was really charming. Think of my singing the great Duet in Semiramide with her, with which she was pleased to express herself well pleased, not to me but to Fedrigotti, who told me ; *ce dont je suis bien fier*. She has been extremely amiable also at the Countess's & singing divinely. Lady C. Murray's adoration of her amounts to the ridiculous ; she is miserable and jealous if any body else speaks to her while she is in the room. The Countess is in extraordinary force, & makes us die of laughing at the things she says. Yesterday evening there were several people to dinner, & afterwards the following groups were to be observed ; G. Anson & Lady Macfarlane, Sir Robert at a little distance in vain courting Morpheus, & constantly *peeping* at his moglie ; Worcester & Princess Esterhazy, Lady Worcester uneasy but consoling herself with the conversation of C. Greville. I assure you the Countess's observations on all this this morning were enough to kill one ; she had not allowed one look or gesture of any of the parties to escape her, & was quite *au fait* with all their affairs.

"I am extremely sorry to hear so little cheerful an account of your party at Wortley, & of the poor Governor's spirits. John is at a loss to account for it, as he says he has just gained an important lawsuit & ought to be very happy. I fear the Iron works must be the root of it. I am longing so to join you that I should not be much surprised if I were to cut Oxford, & rush some fine morning. I flatter myself that when we all come down we shall assist in dispelling the gloom of which you complain.

“Zelmira tomorrow & Medea on Saturday p.p.c. I shall go to Naples. . . .”

Before November 1826 Lady Caroline was already a grandmother.¹

From Lady Wharncliffe

“ . . . I have got a very pretty tiny locket, into which I have put *Babs* hair, & wear it on my watch chain. I cannot say how odd it feels to me to be wearing the hair of a creature I have *never seen*. I am growing very impatient for its arrival, but am sorry it will be in Grosvenor Square, where I shall not have it handy to twaddle with at all hours. . . .

“The Duke of Devonshire² is just return’d. I have seen one or two of his Suite, who say that nothing could be more triumphant than his Embassy; that he & Marmont were the only two who were magnificent, but that the Duke outdid him, & was much more popular from his youth, & spirit, & love of dancing. His Fêtes were the finest, & were gay as well as brilliant. The Emperor gave him a Pelisse of the finest Sable besides the usual Snuff box. . . .”

From Lady Wharncliffe

“I made the Doge write to (you) yesterday dearest mama because I thought he would tell you so much better & accurately than I could *third* hand what had been said to him by Mr. Peel & others about John’s speech the other day. I am sure you will be delighted, & for my own part I own he has obtain’d the praise of all others I am most anxious he should deserve, as he has distinguish’d himself in the way to give the best promise for the future. I dined yesterday in Grosvenor Square, & met Richard Ryder³ there before any body else was in the room. I was quite touché with the

¹ John Stuart Wortley’s eldest daughter, Mary, afterwards Marchioness of Drogheda.

² The Duke of Devonshire had gone to Moscow as special Ambassador for the coronation of Nicholas.

³ Richard Ryder (1766–1832), M.P., P.C., brother of Lord Harrowby.

pleasure he felt himself on the occasion, & with his expressing himself exactly as I was feeling about it ; & still more so, when he told me that he remember'd Mr. Pitt saying to him in the early days of Cannings public life, that what would give him more pleasure than the display of eloquence would be to hear him make a good *business like* speech upon some *dry subject*, as a much more satisfactory test of his future success in the House of Commons. This is great authority, & I am rather proud of having thought exactly the same, when I knew what kind of speech he had made, & of which I was proportionately vain. Georgy of course is delighted, especially as she had some share in screwing his courage up to Speak at all. . . .

“The Doge was with His Majesty for an hour to day, so that we shall I suppose certainly start Monday or Tuesday. But the fact is that the Governor is in no hurry *to go* as he likes his life here, & has great drawbacks poor fellow to the pleasure of being at Wortley, owing to unfavorable state of the collieries & the bad times altogether, which makes his expences more than are convenient. But dont talk of this *even* to the Doctor. . . .”

The sudden illness of Lord Liverpool in February 1827 brought to a close his long spell of public service. He had been Prime Minister for fifteen years. This catastrophic ending revealed with startling clearness all that the country had owed to him. There was no one to take his place.

Unsparring of his own labour, by his absolute honesty and loyalty to colleagues, his unruffled temper, his tact, his wide experience in all branches of administration, he had been able to unite under him men of such varying temperaments and opinions as Castlereagh and Canning, Wellington and Wilberforce. In private life these letters show that he was lovable in no small degree.

He had, we should say, no great gifts of imagination or of insight. It is told of him that when, as a Colonel in the

Cinque Ports Fencibles, it fell to his lot to keep order at Robert Burns's funeral at Dumfries in the year 1796, he said that he cordially disliked the business, as he had always considered Robert Burns to be a Revolutionary, and had always refused to make his acquaintance.

After becoming incapacitated, Lord Liverpool remained for weeks the nominal head of the Government. Latterly he had held the balance between the advocates of Catholic Emancipation, now the most burning question of the day, and its opponents. George IV., himself the strongest of the Anti-Catholics, after long hesitation decided to give the leadership to Canning, the strongest of the "Catholics". But George's support failed to bring into line the ultra-Tory element in the Government, and of Canning's late colleagues seven, including Wellington and Peel, refused to serve under him. To fill the gaps caused by these defections Canning called in a certain number of Whigs. Lansdowne,¹ after much negociation was given a seat in the Cabinet without portfolio, while William Lamb, afterwards Lord Melbourne, was made Chief Secretary for Ireland, and Tierney, Master of the Mint.

From Lady Wharncliffe

"CURZON STREET, April 2d, 1827.

"I call'd at Fife House again to day, & afterwards met Robert Jenkinson in the Street, & their joint account is very satisfactory. Poor Lord Liverpool is quite well, but is *fidgitty* & evidently much occupied with the present state of things. Nevertheless he sleeps well, & sees Cecy constantly. But *par precaution* they put leeches on last night, & are to put on a small blister on his head to night. Robert Jenkinson told me that he rather *likes* the last, as it relieves his head, & gives him

¹ Henry, 3rd Marquess of Lansdowne (1780-1863). Chancellor of the Exchequer under Grenville, 1806 (Ministry of all the Talents). Brought about a coalition between the followers of Canning and the Whigs. Entered Cabinet without office, 1827. President of Council, 1830, under Grey, retaining office intermittently until 1841, and again under Lord John Russell, from 1846 to 1852. Remained in Cabinet without office, 1852-63. Married, 1808, Lady Louisa Emma Fox-Strangways, daughter of 2nd Earl of Ilchester.

no pain. He told me he should not write to you till to-morrow, for which reason I write this. There is nothing new in the world, but I think the general feeling is for Canning. There was a report yesterday that the Chancellor [Eldon] would resign, which is most probable if Canning is Prime Minister.

“What will please you much, is to hear that John has been gaining immense credit in a Committee by the clearness & soundness of his arguments in a very difficult case ; and having argued & knock’d down his antagonists yesterday on *one* side, after a night’s reflection *changed his opinion*, & with equal success carried his point to day. In short all I hear of him encourages me to think that he is in the way to distinguish himself in no common way, & I feel not a little *vain* of him—*proud* of him I was before, & I am so delighted at his having taken so much to his Parliamentary duties.”

From Miss C. Stuart Wortley

“They say the Duke of Leeds is to be Master of the Horse, the Duke of Devonshire will be *something* if Lord Lansdowne comes in (I don’t know what), as well as Lord Carlisle¹ I believe. Mama is now going to add a line, so good bye dear Granny.”

From Lady Wharncliffe

“I think Missy has told you all that there is to tell dearest mama. . . . My dinner at Lord Morleys went off admirably. Canning was in good spirits, & though thoughtful at times, was present to the conversation in general, & several times made us shout with laughing. The new Chancellor² seems an agreeable man, & we had one or two other clever men at table, besides Lady

¹ George, 6th Earl of Carlisle, K.G. (1773–1848). Succeeded his father in the earldom, 1825. Married, 1801, Georgiana, eldest daughter of William, 5th Duke of Devonshire.

² John Singleton Copley, *b.* 1772; raised to the peerage as Lord Lyndhurst, 1827. Lord Chancellor 1827–30, 1834–35, and 1841–46. Died 1863, when the peerage became extinct.

Morley whose spirits & wit kept all going. Good Heavens it is almost five o'clock & I shall be too late!

"My letter *was* too late dearest mama, & if I was to tell you all the reports I have heard since I wrote I should never have done. The Duke of Devonshire is come back, & I believe with a paper drawn up by Lord Lansdowne to which an answer is not yet given. Nothing therefore is really known as yet, but the general feeling is that he will probably come in—it is however *only* a *feeling*. But I believe he comes to Town to-morrow & I trust all will then be settled. If I hear anything at Devonshire House to night I will let you know. Good night."

From Lady Wharncliffe

"CURZON STREET, April 24, 1827.

"I was in hopes dearest mama that I should have had some thing new to tell you to day; mais point du tout; & we are told that we must wait another day or two, as Lord Lansdowne is not expected in Town till to day or to-morrow. The two difficulties are the lead in the House of Lords & a pledge which he requires from Canning about the Irish government which he refuses to grant, & there it rests at present, the Whigs having sent to Lord Lansdowne to come up immediately. . . .

"It is growing very tiresome altogether. Nothing of any sort or kind is talk'd of by men, women & Children but the present state of things, but every body is beginning to be quite tired of the subject, tho' still so occupied with it that they can talk about nothing else. Il *traine* sadly, & I fear the Country will grow quite impatient, & take for weakness what is only the desire in Mr. Canning to shew he is sincere in his conduct towards the Whigs. . . ."

From Lady Wharncliffe

"April 26.

"... This I verily believe is the last day of suspense. To-morrow then all *must* be known. We are

going to Devonshire House to night in hopes that Lord Granville may tell us something before we go to bed. The Division amongst the Whigs is quite curious; Mr. Brougham & Sir F. Burdett being quite anxious for the junction, Lord Grey furious against it! Lord Lansdowne himself they say not at all wishing to take Office. . . .”

From Lady Wharncliffe

“ April 27, 1827.

“ It is settled at last that Lord Lansdowne does *not* come into Office, at least at present, but some of his friends do, & Sturges Bourne is so good as to take the Home Department en attendant, & somebody else must I suppose be Privy Seal in the same way, for I fear Lord Carlisle does not come in now. They still talk of the Duke of Devonshire as Chamberlain. William Lamb¹ they say is to be the Irish Secretary.

“ All that is known as yet is what relates to Lord Lansdowne. I believe the great difficulty was the lead. *We* being *Canningites* are very glad it was not given up; and as Lord Lansdowne could not come in as Prime Minister we don't want him as any thing but an *ally*. He says he now looks upon himself as identified with Mr. Cannings Government & the great majority of the Whigs go with him.

“ We are much amused at *your* view of the subject, which is so whiggish, whilst the Governors great dread is the appearance even of the new governments being too much so. The great object is to inspire confidence, & for that reason the Doge at one time was almost inclined to wish that Canning should form an administration *entirely* independent of the Whigs, & which he has no doubt he could have done. The meeting of Parliament will be very curious & very interesting. . . .”

From Lady Wharncliffe

“ May 3.

“ Missy & I were at the House of Lords last night &

¹ Afterwards Lord Melbourne, the Prime Minister.

I have been writing such a long letter to the Doge in consequence that I fear I have hardly left myself time to do the same by you. We were very much interested & amused, but we heard nothing new. The Speakers we heard best were Lord Goodrich, Lord Lansdowne & Lord Ellenborough. The Duke of Wellington had his back to us so that we could not hear him well, but he did not make altogether a good case I think, for he contradicted himself. Poor Lord Goodrich was too nervous & agitated to speak as well & as usefully as he might have done. Lord Lansdowne's voice, manner, & language we were charm'd with & wish'd we could have heard more entirely. We staid it all out, & did not get home till past ten to a hot supper. Of course we were well tired, but we are well again to day. I wish I could *continue* to feel the interest I do at present about politics, it must be such an animating & engrossing subject, but I fear I cannot. John says that Mr. Canning's speech the night before was triumphant and 'threw them all upon their backs'. Certainly the old ministers seem to have pursued an odd course in support of their principles, & to please their Sovereign by *going out*. I hope you see how well Lord Goodrich repels the notion of the Press being in the pay of Government? He said more than the papers give, & with a warmth of manner expressive of his own indignation at the idea. . . .

"The Doge did not expect to win with Reformer, but was delighted to win with Pastime. He has done very well on the whole these two meetings. He expects the Dragon will be beat to day, but *I* feel sanguine."

From Lady Wharncliffe

"June 6, 1827.

"As we are going to a rehearsal at the Opera of Maria Stuart this morning, I shall not have time to write more than a few lines before I get up & dress. The Duke of Devonshire dined with us yesterday en famille, he invited himself the evening before at a Party where we met, & would not be put off tho' the Governor was

absent, so I only got Georgy to meet him, & made Jem dine at home. The Queen of Wurtemberg¹ however chose to arrive just as he was coming, & he did not arrive till we had almost done dinner tho' we waited till *eight*. However we got something which had been kept hot for him, & he dined whilst we had our desert, & was as comfortable & snug as possible. I send you his note written whilst waiting with the King at St. James's, as I think it will amuse you. He says the meeting was quite tender, & poor dear Duchess of Gloucester & Princess Sophia behind the King *bathed in tears* ! The Queen [of Würtemberg] he says is a nice looking old woman, with *white hair*, & it was just thirty years on monday since she sail'd from England ! She must have many melancholy feelings at seeing it again, & all that remain of her family so alter'd ! ”

Canning's new Coalition Government, supported in the House of Commons by the Whigs and the Liberal Tories, was never acceptable to the Lords. The veteran Whig, Lord Grey, would have none of it ; while, on the other hand, the Duke of Wellington profoundly distrusted the new advances towards Free Trade. A Corn Bill, prepared by the late Cabinet and passed by the House of Commons, was wrecked in the House of Lords on an amendment introduced by Wellington. Canning considered that the Duke had been made an instrument in the hands of others.

“ There is nothing new to tell you about the *fatal night* in the House of Lords. It remains inexplicable, tho' I encline to the Dukes opinion that *many* who voted for the amendment did so without any idea they were hurting the Bill, & that perhaps the Duke of Wellington *himself* did not intend it. They say Lord Lauderdale is at the bottom of it, & persuaded him to propose it. Mr. Huskisson kept no copy of his letter, for which he got well scolded by Canning, & was obliged to ask the Duke of Wellington for the original which he sent him to

¹ Augusta, Princess Royal, eldest daughter of George III., married 1797, Frederick, King of Würtemberg. She died 1828.



JAMES ARCHIBALD, FIRST LORD WHARNCLIFFE
By Sir Francis Grant, P.R.A. The property of the Earl of Wharnccliffe.

take a copy. It is hoped that they will be able to get rid of this amendment when the business comes on again to-morrow, & that the Bill will be saved.

“ I saw Lady Verulam¹ monday night, who said she was afraid Lord Liverpool was not quite so well, but she did not seem uneasy about him.

“ Adieu dearest mama. I hope you mean to come soon.”

Canning's tenure of office lasted only a few months, during most of which he was a dying man. On August 8, 1827, he died at the Duke of Devonshire's villa at Chiswick, in the same room where, twenty years before, Charles James Fox had died.

Two months after his death the battle of Navarino was fought. Technically Turkey was our ally, but the treatment by the Porte of its Greek subjects had already caused great indignation in this country. In the Treaty of London Canning, in conjunction with the French and Russian representatives, had endeavoured to force on the Turk an armistice between him and the so-called Greek belligerents. Turkey refused, and summoned Ibrahim Pasha from Egypt to help her. A massacre of the inhabitants of the coast under the direction of Ibrahim brought things to a head. An action ensued, which resulted in the complete destruction of the Turkish Fleet by the combined fleets of France, Russia and Great Britain, under Sir Edward Codrington. Palmerston, alluding to Navarino, says that our “ making a bonfire of the fleet of our good ally . . . was only a slight act of remonstrance struck parenthetically into unbroken friendship ”.

On the death of Canning, the King, who dreaded and disliked Wellington, asked Robinson (now Lord Goderich) to form a ministry. This lasted only to the end of the year.

From the Hon. James Stuart Wortley

“ . . . If the Copleys are still with you, pray ask them how I should direct to Joe; as I hear he has

¹ Lady Charlotte Jenkinson, daughter of 1st Earl of Liverpool. Married, 1807, James Walter Grimston, afterwards 1st Earl of Verulam.

changed his ship I am afraid he has not had the good luck to be present at the ‘ *Battle of Navarino* ’ ? Think of our Craddock having been wounded, how happy he will be, & how much more interesting than ever. . . . Nobody seems to know what will be the event of the affair at Navarino. I dined yesterday at Esterhazy’s & was very much amused at watching his countenance during an argument upon the subject which was carried on during a great part of the dinner ; he was however too good a diplomatist to betray much of his inmost feelings ; it is however a nice point with Austria, as they say that there were many Austrians in the Turkish vessels, & that even some of the transports which were destroyed were Austrian vessels.”

From the Hon. James Stuart Wortley to Lady Wharncliffe

“ WHITE’S, Tuesday.

“ MY DEAR MY LADY,

“ It is, to be sure, unfortunate that you should have chosen this meeting out of the three to see poor Pastime beat, & to be pinched by such miserable cold weather as has just set in. John Giraffe¹ and I are very snug in our legal quarters, we dined together in my Chambers last night on the game I got from Wortley, & to day we feast again in the same way. Yesterday he proved to me the advantage of a friend of such *high* qualities by knocking down a lamp that was hung in my *vestibule* with the upper part of his snout.

“ I dined with the W. Bentincks² two days ago Lady William appeared in much better spirits than I expected, & talked about her arrangements for India in the most cheerful manner. It seems it is at present a question of Lord Mandeville’s going out as Lord William’s

¹ The Hon. John Chetwynd-Talbot (1806–52), fourth son of 2nd Earl Talbot, and brother to the 18th Earl of Shrewsbury. Became eminent at the Parliamentary Bar. Married, 1830, Caroline, daughter of James Archibald, 1st Lord Wharncliffe.

² See p. 332, Vol. I.

secretary, but not alone, as in that case he will take some man used to business to help him, & I suppose divide the salary."

From the Hon. James Stuart Wortley to Lady Wharncliffe

"WHITE'S, Thursday,
[Nov. 15, 1827.]

"The world scarcely knows yet, in the absence of further information, what to think of the affairs of Greece & the late engagement; but few think well of it, & there are many who indulge in the hoarsest croaking. Lord Ingestre¹ is gone to day down to Bushy & is to see the King tomorrow. He gives the most brilliant account of the gallantry of the affair on all hands; the French behaved very well, & the Russians very bravely. But at one period of the action he was obliged to send to one of the captains of the latter to beg that he would not point his guns so as to fire exactly into his ship, as he was then doing. The Russian, who scarcely knew where he was firing, & thought that he did right as long as he fired somewhere, took the hint & turned his gun in some other direction. He says that Sir E. Codrington's escape was miraculous, for that his quarter deck was swept 4 or 5 times, & nearly every body round him was either killed or wounded. The most gallant thing of all perhaps was done by Sir E. Codrington some days before the battle, when he was lying off Navarino with only the Asia, the Talbot & the Dartmouth. The Turkish fleet was going out of port contrary to the armistice, when Sir E. ordered the Talbot to go alongside of the Turkish Admiral's ship, & tell him that if he did not go back into port he should be *under the necessity* of blowing him out of water! It had the desired effect, & the whole Turkish fleet put back into the bay & retired before the three British ships.

¹ Henry John Chetwynd-Talbot (1803-68). Became 18th Earl of Shrewsbury, 1856. Married, 1828, Lady Sarah Elizabeth Beresford, daughter of 2nd Marquis of Waterford. Admiral, R.N.; was present at battle of Navarino.

“ In the ‘ Brisk ’, which was commanded by W. Anson, while the Surgeon & purser of the ship & Anson himself were helping to dress a man’s wound who was stretched on the table in the Captain’s Cabin, a ball struck the purser’s head & dashed his brains in the surgeon’s face ! Anson’s remark was ‘ Damn the thing, it has burnt my shirt to tinder ! ’. I am promised a sight of the plan of the action, & if my powers are equal to copying it you shall have an impression. Joe Copley had left Navarino 3 days before for Malta.

“ The Duke of Devonshire *is* come, & has been annoyed by something about his ears, but is, I believe, better. Lady Caroline Lamb is said to be dying, &, what is most extraordinary, of dropsy. Lord Pembroke¹ has left 600,000£ ; 100,000 to his children, & the rest to Lady Pembroke at her disposal. . . . ”

¹ George Augustus, 11th Earl of Pembroke (1759–1827). Married (1) Elizabeth Beauclerk, granddaughter of 3rd Duke of Marlborough ; (2) Catherine, daughter of Count Woronzow.

CHAPTER XIX

(1828–1829)

Wellington succeeds Goderich—Death of Lord Erne—Engagement of Lord Howard de Walden—A Rehearsal at the Opera—Peel declares for Catholic Emancipation—Duke of Cumberland tries to frighten the King—Lord Colchester thinks His Majesty's title will be shaken—Engagement of Duke of Buccleuch—The King angry at large majority for Catholic Bill—The Duke and Huskisson—Young James raves of Fanny Kemble's acting—Lord Hertford's windfall of £200,000.

THE administration of Lord Goderich ("that transient and embarrassed phantom"), had lasted only till the end of 1827. George IV. had no choice but to call in the blunt and masterful soldier whose domination he dreaded. In his newly formed ministry Wellington retained many of the Canningites, amongst others Huskisson. This arrangement, however, lasted only a few months. The next letter, which is undated, deals with Wellington's coming into office as Prime Minister.

From Lady Wharncliffe

"CURZON STREET.

" . . . Lord Holland was to move to night for papers about Navarino, in which case the *Lords* will not get home to dinner ; but there is a report that he has got the Gout & must put off his motion. You will see our W. [Wellington] will do very well—people already begin to think so. He has one great merit, which is *decision*, & stoutness, 'à toute épreuve'. When once he has made up his mind upon a subject, he fears neither abuse nor

blame, nor does he care *who* he pleases or *who* he affronts, & I believe his Majesty will once more find he has a *Master*, which he has not had for some months past. This is the right stuff for a Prime Minister, when coupled with honest intentions and considerable talent. They say also that he spoke quite as well as was necessary the other night, and satisfied everybody in that respect."

Of the next two letters, one records the death of Lord Erne,¹ Lady Caroline's father, that mysterious personage who, while professing the deepest affection for his wife and daughter, yet lived entirely separate from them, and very rarely saw them. The other announces the engagement of young Lord Howard de Walden, son of Charles Rose Ellis (now Lord Seaford), who was Canning's second in the duel with Castlereagh.

From the Earl of Bristol to Lady Wharncliffe

"BRIGHTON, *Sepr.* 15, 1828.

"MY DEAREST CAR,

"This morning post has brought me from Mr. Creighton the account of poor Lord Erne's Death; and though you must be well prepared for that event, I cannot let the day pass without showing you that my thoughts and my heart are with you. The breaking up of the great natural ties can *never* take place without that degree of violence to one's feelings which they were destined to produce, but you have in this instance every mitigation of the event possible—great preparation, and long separation. Still something remains which makes the blow solemn, if not severe. He had a kind, affectionate, steady Heart; & I shall preserve him a place in mine till mine is cold also. I shall like to know how your dear Mother is left, & if there is any little mark of kindness towards her in his Will . . ."

¹ John, 1st Earl Erne, died September 15, 1828. The later holders of the title have been styled Earls of Erne.

*From Lord Howard de Walden to Lady Erne**"Oct. 12th.*

"Happy as I am, I yet value most sensibly the sympathy of my Friends in my happiness—of no one shall I more than yours. As I (think) you may not know that my marriage with Lucy Bentinck is just settled, I have a hope that I may be the first to mention it to you at the same time that I ask your blessing for both of us.

"Believe me, Dearest Aunt,

"with the truest affection

"Ever yours

"HOWARD DE WALDEN."¹

From the Hon. James Stuart Wortley to Lady Wharncliffe

"... To-day I have been to a rehearsal at the Opera (a *temptation* which I *could not* resist,) & there I heard Monticelli & Donzelli² & Pisaroni³; was there ever such a feast of novelty! Of the first I cant say much... her voice is sharp & harsh & not always quite true, & her style is deficient in the *legato*. In short she is a second rate affair, but has an expressive countenance, a good deal of grace, & appears as if she would act well & spiritedly. Of Donzelli I need only say that... he has a magnificent voice, but is too prodigal of its powers; it is one continued roar, but yet the volume of voice is so splendid that it does not annoy you except in the passages where you look for *dolcezza* & tenderness. In Othello he must be splendid.

"As to Pisaroni, though I did not expect to like her (as I am not fond of contraltos as a general rule) I was entirely won to her in the first few bars she sung; it is

¹ See p. 83, Vol. I.

² Domenico Donzelli (1790–1873). Born at Bergamo. Had a powerful tenor voice which he did not moderate well. Was for several years in Paris.

³ Benedetta Pisaroni (1793–1872). Contralto singer. Born at Piacenza. She dominated the public by the beauty of her voice in spite of being terribly disfigured by smallpox.

in every respect *first-rate*, & her ugliness not nearly so offensive as I had expected. I will give you the black side of the picture first in order that it may not darken the effect which I wish to convey by my description. If you can conjure up in your mind something between Countess Ludolf, Lady Charles Lindsay, *Lord Eldon*, and poor old Mrs. *Greathead*, you will have the result, but then she has by no means a disagreeable countenance, & therefore her ugliness is not of a disagreeable kind. As a singer I have only been able to detect one fault, which is, that the contrast between the high and low parts of her voice is too great, it sometimes has almost the effect of two people singing. . . .”

It was in the debate on the Address at the opening of Parliament in 1829 that Peel, who by descent and tradition belonged to the strictest sect of the “Protestants”, first supported Catholic Emancipation. The dangerous state of public feeling in Ireland, the strength of the Catholic Association (a kind of Catholic Freemasonry), the reverse of the Clare election, in which Vesey Fitzgerald, a Minister of the Crown, had been utterly routed by O’Connell, the exclusion of O’Connell from Parliament on account of his religion—all these facts had induced Peel, with sore reluctance, to go over to the “Catholics”. It was certainly one of the ironies of political life that it fell to Wellington and Peel, those staunch anti-Catholics, to be the protagonists of Emancipation.

From Lord Wharncliffe to Lady Wharncliffe

“*Friday evening, February 6, 1829.*

“The business went off admirably in the House of Lords, nothing could be better than the tone with which the Duke of Wellington announced the intentions of Government. Lord Anglesea spoke very well indeed, and so did Lord Lansdowne. Old Eldon twaddled, and Lord Bathurst was very stout and really did make out a tolerable case for himself. I was not in the House of

Commons, but Peel's speech reads remarkably well. Upon the whole I am quite satisfied that Government are in earnest, and that as far [as] depends upon them, the thing will be well done. There are no reports of any kind on foot, and the excitement seems to be rapidly subsiding.

"Tom and I shall be with you on Sunday between 4 and 5, Dearest Love. Today he and I dine at John's, and tomorrow at a coffee House and go to the premier coup d'archet at the Opera."

From Lord Wharncliffe to Lady Wharncliffe

"HOUSE OF LORDS, [February 16,]¹ 1829.

"I have five minutes to tell you all the news I can pick up. It is said that the Duke of Cumberland has had an interview with the King by no means satisfactory to the former, and that in the end of it the King told him he was too late, and begged him to understand that his (the King's) mind was made up to go through with the measures. Lord Colchester has just been speaking here, and has gone so far as to state that the King's title to the throne would be shaken by the carrying the question, and that we must look to the House of Savoy for the legitimate heir to the throne. For this the Duke of Wellington has had a most capital and stout answer.

"Holland is now speaking."

From the Hon. James Stuart Wortley to Lady Wharncliffe

"LONDON, Wednesday.

"I wish I had been in time for yesterday's post as I might then perhaps have been the first to announce to you the declaration of Lady Charlotte Thynne's marriage to the Duke of Buccleuch, of which before you receive this you will doubtless have heard from some other

¹ Reference to Hansard makes practically certain the date above suggested for this letter. Lord Colchester delivered the speech described in presenting petitions against the Catholic Disabilities Removal Bill.

quarter. There certainly never was anything so nice, & I quite long to see Lady Bath to have an opportunity of wishing her joy. Nothing could have been more perfect than the conduct of the whole family, & particularly Lady Bath. There never was for a moment the appearance of eagerness to catch him, & it seems to be entirely a marriage d'inclination on both sides. . . ."

From Lord Wharncliffe to Lady Wharncliffe

"CURZON STREET, March 7, 1829.

" . . . You will see by the papers that I made a grand attack upon the Sheffield clergy about their petition¹ in the House of Lords yesterday. I got rather warm, and I am not sure whether the effect of what I said might not appear to be too strong. But they fully deserved it.

"Peel's speech last night, all parties agree in saying was admirable and the conduct and proposed measures of Government highly approved of. But what the Bishops will do I have not the least guess, for certainly in spite of all the hopes the Duke has held out to them of securities repeatedly in the House of Lords, he has not given them the shadow of an excuse for voting for the measure. Still we must suppose that he has made himself certain of a majority in the House of Lords before he proposed this measure.

"Sir G. Murray's speech, too, is said to have been admirable. I could not stand the House of Commons, and went away to dine at Crockford's, from whence I went to Drury Lane with the Commissioner, [probably W. Dundas] and was very much amused with Charles 12th. . . ."

From Lord Wharncliffe to Lady Wharncliffe

" . . . The Division² last night was a very good one, majority 180, but there are some circumstances

¹ Against Catholic Emancipation.

² The Bill for removing Catholic Disabilities passed the House of Commons on March 30, 1829, by a majority of 178.

with respect to some of those who voted that are not agreeable for us. All the Lowthers voted against the question, so did the Manners's. Becket did not vote at all, nor Holmes the Government whipper in.

"I have no more time. God bless you."

Creevey, writing on April 11, says: "The King was very angry at the large majority for the Catholic Relief Bill, and did not write the Duke a line in answer to his express, telling him of it".

From Lord Wharncliffe to Lady Wharncliffe

"Wednesday.

". . . I find everything here in a state of uncertainty. There is no doubt that there has been great difficulty in keeping the King strait, and that nothing but the absolute impossibility of forming a new government prevents his slipping his neck out of the collar. If old Eldon could go to him with a government ready, he would kick bold W. [Wellington] &c. to the D—— . . ."

In May a disagreement had arisen between Wellington and the Canningites on the question of the transference of the Borough of East Retford to Birmingham. Huskisson resigned, as also did Lord Dudley, Lord Palmerston, Mr. Grant and Mr. Lamb (afterwards Lord Melbourne). Huskisson regretted, and tried to recall, his resignation, but the Duke, glad to get rid of the Canningites, with whom he had no real sympathy, did not respond. The incident referred to in the letter that follows was probably one of Huskisson's attempts to reinstate himself in the Government.

From the Hon. James Stuart Wortley to Lady Wharncliffe

"LONDON, Friday.

"After all the trouble of paint & whitewash I have at last got pretty comfortably into my own Chambers again. . . . In politics all I know is that they stoutly deny any consequence from the meeting of the Duke & Huskisson at Lord Hertford's. The account of the

friends of the Duke is pretty nearly that given in the Times, with the addition of a few words to his answer on being asked if he should have any objection to meet Huskisson; 'Objection! no, none: *he* may have some objection to meet me, but *I* can have none to meet him'. Whether this is a correct report of the Duke's reply or not I don't know, but it does not appear that the other saw the objection quite so strongly as perhaps it might have been as well that he should. It seems to have been very injudicious to say the least on Huskisson's part, & has given occasion to revive all that was said to his disadvantage by his enemies on former occasions.

"You will have seen the supplements &c. to the treaty of the 14th of September.¹ The upshot appears to be that we leave the commerce of Turkey in Europe in the hands [of] a barbarous people who have always rendered it (comparatively with what it ought to be) useless to us, while we leave the actual power and resources of the Empire under the hand of Russia, whom we send back, disappointed of her prize, to brood sulkily upon her victims, and prepare to quarrel with the first power that comes in her way. It appears to me that either of the other alternatives would have been better; to have interfered sooner, or to have allowed her to glut herself in the destruction of the Turkish dominion in Europe, in which I should have seen very little danger. By the bye, in one of his letters my father rather blew upon my consistency on this subject; but he will see that I have not changed. . . .

¹ Treaty of Adrianople, September 14, 1829, between Russia and Turkey, was signed at Adrianople on September 14, 1829. The struggle between Turkey and Greece in which England, rather to her own surprise, had taken a hand at Navarino, in spite of the Treaty of London, so dexterously arranged by Canning to substitute mediation for war, ended in a conflict between Russia and Turkey, in which the former was successful. The success of her arms enabled Russia to dictate terms at Adrianople. Amongst these was the Independence of Greece.

“Lord Melbourne’s trial about my Lady Brandon ¹ comes on on Tuesday, when I intend to be in Court.

“Best love to all.”

After the passing of Catholic Emancipation there are no letters till October, when young James seems to have forgotten politics entirely for music and the drama.

The next five letters are from the Hon. James Stuart Wortley to Lady Wharncliffe.

“TEMPLE, *Friday*.

“... There is as yet no announcement of Miss Kemble ² in any thing but Juliet. I believe Belvidera is quite ready, but the crowds that flock to see Juliet are so undiminished that they think it in their interest to reserve the additional excitement of a new part till the public curiosity begins to flag. I hear there are some heretics about her merits. The only one for whose opinion I would give twopence, however, is Charles Greville, who I believe professes to have been disappointed: the Duke of Devonshire also, but I don’t value his judgement a *straw*. The fact is that now her renown is so great that people go expecting an angel perfect. . . .”

“TRAVELLERS, *Wednesday*.

“I am of course going to see Belvidera, & am just going to dine in order to be in good time. There will be a tremendous crowd; the Orchestra is all let in *guinea* tickets! a thing not known since the night when John Kemble took his leave. I have got a ticket,

¹ This was an action for divorce brought by Lord Brandon against his wife, in which Lord Melbourne was cited as co-respondent. There was such a complete absence of evidence, not only against Lord Melbourne but against Lady Brandon, that the case was withdrawn, the plaintiff paying the costs.

² Frances Anne, generally known as Fanny Kemble (1809–1893), daughter of Charles Kemble. Appeared as Juliet to her father’s Mercutio at Covent Garden, 1829; appeared later in many great parts. Married, 1834, Pierce Butler, whom she divorced. Published poetical and dramatic writings.

& as I have not now seen her for some time, I look forward with the most eager pleasure to the rising of the curtain. When will the *frondeurs* give in? She has acted Juliet 30 times, I think, with constantly increasing applause & bursting houses! If she succeeds tonight they must be entirely silenced. I have such an opinion of her that I don't feel the smallest fear for the result. You shall hear. Everybody that I know is going, & I never knew so much excitement about a thing of the kind, nor do I believe that it has been known since the time of Mrs. Siddons. The Bristols are going, all except poor Sophia, who is not quite well."

"PAPER BUILDINGS,

"Wednesday night, 11 o'clock.

"I am just returned from the theatre & . . . sit down to give you my impressions whilst they are fresh. Never was anything more brilliant or triumphant than Miss Kemble's success in *Belvidera*. . . . She surpassed all that I had been able to imagine or anticipate. It is decidedly a more powerful & commanding performance than her Juliet, but only because the part affords better opportunity for display, for both are perfect. If I was to instance the passages in which she shone, I should have to mention every fine speech in the play. . . . Several times she was interrupted by thunders & regular rounds of cheers, which prevented her proceeding with her part for above a minute, & at the end the applause was perfectly terrific; one general shout and cheer which continued till Charles Kemble appeared to announce the play for repetition, when the whole pit became one moving mass of raising hats. I never raised my hat in a theatre before, but as I was in the Orchestra and on the critics' bench I felt free, & both cheered and waved my hat most lustily. There is an end to all the cavillers & false critics, she is now established, & you must see *her* to know the pleasure of once more seeing a first-rate, great, magnificent actress! . . .

“Dont fancy that I am in love, & that this is a rhapsody flowing from the extravagance of my admiration; I admire her only as an actress, for I have had no opportunity of admiring her otherwise, & you will find that I am justified in all that I have said.”

“*Thursday.*

“... There is a good critique in the Times, & I enclose you another from the Chronicle, both of which will shew you that I have not understated the effect upon the audience. . . . The house at the end of the play presented the most extraordinary appearance I ever saw. Amidst the stunning thunders of applause, it seemed as if it reeled from the number of hats & handkerchiefs which were floating backwards & forwards in every part. I saw a man to day who spoke to poor Charles Kemble afterwards, who said it was the happiest day of his life. You really must come up & see her.

“With regard to one observation in the critique in the Chronicle, I will just mention what I know to be the fact, that she *never saw Mrs. Siddons* act, as from her age *she could not*. So if there are parts where she resembles Mrs. Siddons, it must be from congenital inspiration, & not from any want of originality. . . .”

“Think of *Alexander Baring* confessing that he cried his eyes out at *Belvidera* ! I saw him *in a state* !”

“LONDON, *Friday.*

“... Think of Lord Hertford ¹ getting a windfall of 200,000£ by bequest from a Birmingham merchant ! It appears that the *old Lady Hertford* was once civil to the old man’s daughter & took her to the Opera, for which he was so grateful that he thought to pay a compliment to Lady Hertford’s son by leaving the reversion of 400,000£ contingent on the failure of 7 lives. 6 of these have already died off, & the 7th is a middle

¹ Francis Charles, 3rd Marquess of Hertford (1777–1842). Married, 1789, Maria Fagniani.

aged woman who has written to Lord Hertford to propose a division of the sum, to which Lord Hertford has consented, and thus he comes into this pretty little sum. Isn't it enough to make one break the 10th commandment ?

“ Miss Kemble goes on with increased success, the house being fuller on Wednesday last than on any previous night, even the slips near full of people. Lady Dacre told me she had been to see Mrs. Siddons, who said she had been to see her niece in *Juliet* & was delighted with her ; that not only she never had given the slightest instruction or assistance, but that now that she has seen her act, she admires her so much & thinks her conceptions so powerful, that she would not presume to interfere. She will I think remind you at times both of Mrs. Siddons & Pasta, but only at times, for she is quite different from them both ; less personal qualification for dignity & grandeur, but more for tenderness. . . .

“ I understand she says there is no comparison between the two parts [*Belvidera* and *Juliet*], *Juliet* being immeasurably more difficult.”

CHAPTER XX

(1830-1831)

Another revolution in Paris—Marmont states his case—Young Caroline marries John Chetwynd Talbot—Letters from Lady L. Percy in Italy—Death of George IV.—Message to Duke of Sussex on deathbed—Revolution in Belgium—Travel by coach—Military give way to mob in Brussels—Revolutions react on this country—Fears of disturbances—King and Queen forgo customary visit to City on Lord Mayor's day. New Parliament meets in November—The country clamouring for Reform—Indiscreet speech by Duke of Wellington—Lord Wharncliffe supports Lord Grey—Lord Grey signs his death warrant—Lady L. Percy compares state of *conditini* with English common people—Charles Stuart Wortley's engagement to Lady Emmeline Manners.

IN 1830 another revolution took place in Paris. Charles X., assisted by Polignac, formerly ambassador in London, had tried by means of arbitrary "ordonnances" to muzzle the Press, and to alter the representation of the people in Parliament. He learnt too late the strength of the opposition which he had so largely himself created. After three days' revolution in Paris, on August 2 he abdicated in favour of his grandson, the little Due de Bordeaux,¹ son of the murdered Due de Berri. But France would have none of Charles X.'s family, and on August 7 the Provisional Government offered the throne to Louis Philippe, Due d'Orléans. On August 16 Charles X. and his family started for England. Madame de Gontaut, who, it will be remembered, was *gouvernante* to the Enfants de France, accompanied her charges.

¹ See p. 200, Vol. I.

From the Hon. James Stuart Wortley to Lady Wharncliffe

“LONDON, Saturday.

“ . . . I saw a letter last night from Madame de Gontaud, from Lulworth.¹ She seems to be in the lowest of spirits, & wretched at her necessary separation from her daughters, who are left in Paris. They are in a state of the greatest discomfort at Lulworth, sleeping 3 & 4 in a room. Madame de Gontaud, Mademoiselle & a femme de chambre all sleep in one, & the retinue is so numerous that they have been obliged to fit up a long gallery as a sort of dormitory. These are the people I pity. For the King, I own, I have no feeling of the kind ; but for the Duc de Bordeaux, whose prospects he has ruined, & for all those who have lost their property & country by their generous devotion and attachment to an object so unworthy, it is impossible not to feel great sympathy. The letter was to Lady Grantham, to whom she is most grateful for her kindness on their first arrival at Cowes. She told Lady Grantham that Polignac was in her apartment when the firing began in the streets of Paris, that he said it was ‘une émeute—une affaire de gendarmerie’, & laughed at her fears ; that she almost went down on her knees to him to entreat him to do something to pacify the people & save the Royal family & the children under her care, & that they were at that moment interrupted by a man rushing into the room, who told them that not a moment was to be lost to save the children’s lives, as the people were advancing on the palace. They followed him, and thus escaped.

“While Marmont² was here it seems he made out for himself an excellent case. He says that the first he knew of the ordonnances was from reading them in the *Moniteur* on the Monday morning, Polignac having

¹ Now the seat of the Roman Catholic family of Weld-Blundell. In 1830 the property of Joseph Weld (1777–1863). He married the Hon. Elizabeth Stourton, daughter of Charles, 16th Lord Stourton. His son added the name of Blundell for estates inherited from a kinsman.

² Wellington’s antagonist at Salamanca.

frequently assured him ‘sur parole d’un Français’ that there was no question of a coup d’état. He immediately went to ask an audience of the King, & found that he was ‘à la chasse’ shooting! When he did see him, & pressed upon him the excitement in the town, the King treated it lightly, but told Marmont, as the Maréchal in waiting, to see to the maintenance of tranquillity, & in this way he was first appointed to the command of the troops. Things grew rapidly worse, & on the morning of the first day’s fighting he sent to the King a letter entreating him to recal the ordonnances, & assuring him that otherwise he could not answer for the consequences. To this he received no answer. At 12 o’clock he wrote & sent again, entreating an answer, & saying that all might still be well if the ministers were dismissed & the ordonnances recalled. Still no answer. Again at 7 he wrote & sent again a letter in the same tone, but still even then received no sort of answer!

“In the morning the King wrote to say he was willing to recal the ordonnances, but it was then too late, the populace had already got the upper hand, & would of course listen to no such terms. He had but 7000 troops, & these most scantily provided with ammunition, & without one day’s provision! Is it possible to conceive such miserable folly & infatuation! . . .

“George Seymour¹ is appointed Minister to Florence with a reduced salary, & Lord Burghersh goes to Naples. Think of the *Sultan* offering & actually *going* to dine with George Seymour, only stipulating that he should give him ‘some English pudding’ for dinner! This is as strong a symptom of revolution I think as any we have heard of. . . .”

On August 30, 1830, Caroline Stuart Wortley, only daughter of Lord and Lady Wharncliffe, married John Chetwynd Talbot, fourth son of Charles, 2nd Earl Talbot.

¹ George Hamilton Seymour (1797–1880). Minister at Florence, 1830. Held many important diplomatic posts.

The letter which follows must have reached her very soon after her wedding, and is from her cousin, Louisa Percy.¹

From Hon. Louisa Percy to the Hon. Mrs. J. C. Talbot

“RECOARO, Aug. 27, 1830.

“ . . . By the time this reaches England your marriage I suppose will have taken place, & I ought to congratulate you upon it. I may say, my dear Caroline, without any *phrase*, that it makes me happy whenever I think of your happiness both at present, and secured for the future, as far as the future can be secured in this changing world. Dont imagine that from being so little acquainted with Mr. Talbot—I say this sans *connaissance de cause*. You would be surprised to find how much I know of him. I used to make all the new comers from England talk of him & his prospects, & they all spoke as you do. You know your marriage is against Mama’s *principles*, but whether it be the saving fact of its not being a *mésalliance*, or the two years of reflection and *épreuve* which you had the prudence to undergo, I can’t tell; but however it may be, she, rather to my astonishment I own, knowing her general opinions, prophesies as much satisfaction in it as she wishes you. You will be amused to hear that *really* the first thing she said on hearing it was finally settled, was—Well thank God at least it’s no *mésalliance*! You will also be glad to hear that she is uncommonly well, barring the tooth-ache, which she caught in the hot weather by sitting with all the doors and windows open. . . .

“Eccovi—an exact description of this place, although I don’t suppose Ariosto ever came to Recoaro. I am, to my infinite satisfaction, able to ride a donkey, & we pass the evenings exploring the mountains round us. Nobody can imagine what the *beauties of nature* are till

¹ Daughter of Lord Lovaine and Louisa Stuart Wortley, sister of Lord Wharncliffe. In October 1830 Lord Lovaine succeeded to the earldom of Beverley, and later to the dukedom of Northumberland.

they have seen Italian forests by Italian summer sunsets & moonlight. I have babbled of green fields till I almost forgot to tell you that we have just received Papa's orders to take a house at Rome for the winter. I thought I should have broken my heart at not going to England with him. He went to Le Mans to see his father [Lord Beverley], who has been very gracious to him; he had already settled however the principal affair for which Papa took his long journey—that of the vacant seat in Parliament which he had given to a Northumberland country gentleman he saw accidentally at Paris, *because* he also accidentally recollected that this man's Uncle had been of use to him sixty years ago in an election for the county of Northumberland. However Papa is very well contented. Dont mention this, but there is something so curious in this sudden recollection—with a younger son too out of Parliament.

“I recommend Josceline [her brother] to you, I am sure you will all like him. Your stories of His Majesty are charming. Since the events in France the Galiganis have been prohibited & we get no news except through the medium, a very inefficient one too, of the Venetian Giornale. I suspect they are in a fright here. Strange reports have gone forth lately, & though not true, shew what they fear. They are right, for from the Tiber to the Alps, from a Cardinal at Rome to a donkey boy at Recoaro, no Italian can pronounce the name of the A——ns [Austrians] without ‘un fremito di rabbia’. However they have enough to eat, drink & clothe themselves, which is more than the independent English have by all accounts. Now that I have seen a good deal of the common people out of great towns, I am amused at the melancholy accounts all travellers give of their wretchedness. The same woman covered with rags on a week day appears on a festa in a silk petticoat, ribbons, a coral necklace & an embroidered veil. The rags are only what the Vicar of Wakefield calls—*an easy dishabille*. . . .”

“RECOARO, 11th September, /30.

“ . . . My letter must have reached you at the right time & at Hardwicke, which you are at this moment I suppose leaving for Chatsworth. You chose at least a most enchanting place in which to pass what is supposed to be the happiest period of people's lives. Is Ingestrie a nice place? You say nothing of your new family. Don't think me the most indiscreet of questioners, but I cannot resist asking you if they are people likely to suit you & yours. I have alas! seen so much of the evil influence a man's family may have upon his wife's fate, that I am almost as anxious to know that my friends' father, brothers & sisters-in-law are amiable & agreeable, as to hear that their *sposi* are so.

“ Pray keep your good resolution of writing, my dear Caroline. I have always observed that matrimony has an evil effect upon epistolary propensities. . . . I had great hopes of seeing you all this year, but they are quite over, and God knows whether we shall ever get back to England now. Lord Beverley was as I told you very gracious to Papa, & hinted at some sort of wish that he should stay in England on account of politics; but when Papa, on his side, hinted that if he lived in London he must live in a house, & suggested the existence of an uninhabited one in Portman Square, the Earl turned a deaf ear. I try not to think of it at all, for, to use the Italian phrase, ‘*moreo della passione*’ whenever I dwell on the subject. And at least it is fortunate that we all agree equally in liking our place of banishment as much as we do.

“ I am just now dans l'enchantement at the success of *my own plan* of passing the summer here. Mama & I were both agreeing that it is now some years since we have spent one as much to our satisfaction. You won't think us very *exigeantes* en fait de plaisirs, as ours consist entirely in riding on donkeys. But then we ride in such a country, under such a blue sky & such moonlights & starlights, & through such woods of chestnuts

& arbours of vines. I should like to convey Walter Scott here, as these hills, besides their natural beauties, are under the influence of all sorts of magic spells, & haunted by evil spirits that appear to the contadini in the shape of beautiful women—sometimes in that of their *amorose*—who, when forced by repeated questions to break their mysterious silence, discover themselves by showing a row of iron teeth, & vanish in a flame of fire. You see that les lumières du siècle have not penetrated the mountains of the Val d' Agno.

“ However, the charms of this place are coming to a close, the rains have begun, & next week neither butcher's meat nor letters will be to be had in this deserted village. Venice is close by with a good inn, a post office, pictures, churches & palaces which we were too idle last year to see with satisfaction, & I want to wait there for Papa. *But* here's the rub, our Austrian friend made us promise to dine with him as we passed through Padua, & to avoid this dinner, Mama, I believe, will remain here till she is snowed up for the winter. Moreover, she has many more stumbling blocks in her way to Rome, & I have been trying, for her satisfaction, to pick out on the map a road which shall have the peculiar advantage of leading us through none of the great towns, in each of which she has friends she has a great regard for, but is determined if possible not to see. Pray tell my Unele & Aunt these fattorelle, that they may see their sister is always the same in spite of time, distance & change of place (all the invention of this wicked wit, I acknowledge nothing but the Dinner at Padua !!).¹ I maintain the truth of what I have written—but let that pass, as Lord Byron says.

“ We are in a state of deplorable ignorance about the affairs of Europe. Rumours have reached this place of *more* revolutions in the Low Countries & Spain, but all newspapers except Italian ones are prohibited,

¹ The sentence in brackets is in a different handwriting, evidently Lady Lovaine's.

and these are allowed to give very little information. The Austrian Government is sending fresh troops into this country. Not long ago there was a report of a conspiracy discovered at Tenara to act over again the *Vêpres Siciliennes* in that town, which is garrisoned against all right & reason by an Austrian regiment. I have since heard there was no truth in it. But nothing would surprise one less than something of the sort in any part of Italy. But if I don't take care this valuable epistle will be dangerous to the state, & burnt accordingly.

"The events in France are indeed like a frightful dream. The King's [Charles X.'s] conduct has been so mad that one can hardly pity him, severely as he is punished. But one can feel nothing but unqualified pity for the poor child [the Duc de Bordeaux] they have so cruelly deprived of his inheritance, & unqualified detestation for the hypocrite Louis Philippe, with his tears & his self-sacrifice in accepting a crown not his own. As he has re-called the Buonapartes, I hope they will give him *du fil à retordre*. Usurper for usurper. I am for Napoleon II. rather than that renegade. Now you will be amused at this ebullition of my ancient *Jacobite zeal*. But seriously, what an extraordinary resemblance there is between this Revolution & ours of 88 in all respects. Foreigners have the oddest fancy for comparing it to the signing of Magna Charta at Runnimeade, which it resembles as much as it does the Revolution which drove Tarquin from Rome. You would have been amused had you seen my *aristocratic wrath* at hearing our chivalrous forefathers compared to the bankers & shawl weavers who have made the French Charte. But I won't weary you with my politics.

"Pray direct to me at Rome, we shall be there I think in the first week in October. . . ."

On June 29, 1830, George IV., who had been for some time in failing health, died at Windsor and was buried in St. George's Chapel. He was succeeded by his brother

William, Duke of Clarence, who had been made Lord High Admiral in 1827. He had married in 1818 Adelaide, eldest daughter of George, Duke of Saxe-Coburg-Meiningen.

From Lady Erne to Lady Wharncliffe

“HAMPTON COURT PALACE,

“July 16, 1830.

“You have by this time I suppose heard from the Doge all about the mournful ceremony. I as yet know nothing but from the papers, & am feeling anxious to hear how the King bore the exertion of the trial of his own situation. He & the Queen come to Bushey to-day, but pass on to London, where they are to remain for the present. I was very glad to hear that the poor dear Duchess of Gloucester & Princess Augusta remain'd quietly by themselves yesterday. Today the King & Queen dine at Gloucester House. After all that has been said about the immense sum left ‘to one Individual’ by the late King’s will, I heard yesterday from *my* good authority that all is left to the present King, & that the sum is considerable enough to pay the debts, & leave a surplus for the benefit of the King.

“The Queen’s heart fail’d her after all, & she determined not to go to the Place which had been allotted for her to see yesterday’s ceremony, but to remain quietly at Frogmore. She felt it would altogether be a scene too agitating to her feelings.

“Are you not surprised at the new Chamberlain?¹ How can Lady Jersey manage her politicks under such circumstances?

“Adieu—adieu—it is later than I thought for & I must have done. I heard that the late King’s message to the Duke of Sussex was, that he heartily forgave him what faults he had committed towards himself, that he hop’d for his forgiveness also, & had desir’d the Bishop of C. to shake hands with him in his name,

¹ George Child (Villiers), 5th Earl of Jersey (1773–1859). Married, 1804, Sarah Sophia, eldest daughter of John, 10th Earl of Westmorland.

& would have done so in Person, but that he was unequal to the agitation of such a scene, & thought he ought not (for the Country's sake) to run the risk of what effect it might produce."

Revolution is catching. Belgium, which had never liked its almost complete absorption by Holland after the Congress of Verona, followed the example of Paris. Discontents of long standing culminated after the imposition of a tax on flour. Riots broke out in Brussels. The Prince of Orange, sent by the King of the Netherlands to make terms with the insurgents, camped with his army under the walls of Brussels. On the 23rd he decided to attack the town, and after four days' indecisive fighting among barricades he withdrew his troops from the positions they had won. On the following day the Lower Chamber of the States-General decided to dissolve the Union of Holland and Belgium.

From the Hon. James Stuart Wortley to Lady Wharncliffe

"HATFIELD, *Sunday*.

" . . . Nothing further had I believe arrived from Holland or Flanders up to last night, nor have we heard any thing to day. John in his last letter to me hinted his suspicion of mismanagement in the Brussels affair, & his conjectures turn out to be pretty correct. It seems that of the 12000 or 15000 men whom we heard of as being before the town, not above 6000 ever entered its gates, & they, after having been allowed with little difficulty to gain the Park, remained there inactive while the people took possession of every advantageous point of attack round them, & the fighting was recommenced by the populace, who were allowed to approach close to the troops & fire in their faces. Added to this, they were provided with no heavy artillery, their only cannon being light field pieces. This last alone seems to be a woful blunder, & I understand the Duke of Wellington gave his *military opinion* that without *heavy artillery* it would be unsafe to attack 2000 men

in possession of the Thuilleries, even with 2000 in the attack. Besides this, much of the ill success may be attributed to the constitution of the Dutch army. The system like that of Prussia is one of conscription, & *all* are obliged to serve between the age of 18 & 23, but *nobody* is obliged to serve more than one month in twelve during the five years. The consequence of this system must necessarily be, that the majority of the mob have been exercised & are *as* good soldiers as those in the royal uniform ; &, on the other hand, the troops were only formed of those who happened to be on duty in the month of September, & who probably rather sympathized with the revolutionists. The above amongst many others are I think sufficient in some degree to account for the failure of Prince Frederick.

“ *Here* at least they are determined not to be unprepared. On the day of the meeting on Kennington Common, one of the officers who was on duty at the Horse Guards told me he was somewhat startled by the arrival of a servant with a very heavy box which on enquiry contained 1000 rounds of ball cartridge. These had been sent to him in anticipation of any disturbance that might arise.

“ I rode over to day to Brocket, where I heard of Chesterfield’s marriage with Miss Forester. . . . Amongst other matches we hear of G. Anson & Isabella Forester, & Lord Hastings & Miss Fitzclarence. . . . ”

From the Hon. James Stuart Wortley to Lady Wharncliffe

“ LONDON, Friday, Sepr. 3, 1830.

“ By the time I arrived at Leicester on Wednesday evening, I found that, as I had only gone to bed at $\frac{1}{2}$ past two & been up again at six, if I attempted to go through the night I should in all probability tumble off the Coach, & I therefore prudently stopped for the night, trusting to some of the many morning coaches to bring me on. Unluckily every one of these was full, & after the last had gone by I had to make a rapid

movement across the country to catch the Leeds Mail, my last hope, & in this by dint of violent galloping I succeeded at Higham Ferrers, where I found a place in which I came on to London. With the exception of this adventure, my journey was most prosperous, & here I am in perfect health & safety.

“I have come to the West-end of the town to try to pick up some news, but find none. The Standard, already famous for its blunders, has a story of the Duke of Wellington’s resignation, at which I see the Sun also hints, but I do not find that it is at all believed. The town is wofully empty, as I expected to find it, but there are a few people lurking about the Clubs. Lady Glengall I hear has a *party* this evening, but in the present state of the town I cant conceive where she is to find people to make one. I hear Lord Bingham, Colonel Freemantle & Major Gurwood have been on a duelling expedition to Ostend, to meet some discontented half pay officers whose interests some of them had refused to forward or recommend at the Horse Guards; but I cannot collect the particulars of the affair. If they are interesting you shall hear them. Many loves to all.

“Yours ever most affectionately,

“J. S. W.

“What a bore to be here instead of amongst you all at Wortley! However I have occasional visions of Great Seals & Gold Maces, which I hope will support me through the tedious dulness of the day.”

“LONDON, *Thursday*.

“I wrote yesterday both to John & Jack, & sent them all that I could collect upon the affairs of Brussels which are so momentous as to force their interest upon one. There is a second edition of the Courier to day which states that accounts have arrived of great excitement in Ghent which had hitherto been supposed to have been attached to the King’s cause. Thus there seems to be some danger of the spirit of insurrection

spreading throughout the Netherlands. The troops at Ostend have gone over to the popular party. In short in every quarter the King's adherents are said to be dispirited and wavering, while the mob flushed with their victory & drunk with vanity in their newly discovered power, are rising & menacing them on every side. This is certainly one of the severest blows that legitimate power has ever received, & is calculated to excite distrust of what have hitherto been held the sure means of security in the last resort. It appears that military cannot be depended upon to resist a numerous & spirited mob.

"There is nothing new to tell you to day beyond what I have already written & what appears in the papers. Some people croak & are alarmed for this country, but hitherto at least there seems to be no ground for apprehension. Every nerve has been strained by the Hunt & Cobbett party to excite the people. Cobbett has been lecturing three times a week, & other active agents have been constantly employed in every way, but all has failed to produce the slightest outward symptom of discontent.

"I suppose this will reach you at Wortley."

From Lady Wharncliffe to the Hon. Mrs. John C. Talbot

“WORTLEY HALL, *Wednesday*.

"I am sorry to enclose a *congratulatory* letter which arrived last night in one from Lady Mulgrave to me. Both are so kindly meant that they must be answer'd immediately. . . . I can't say how I rejoice at having gone over to see you ; it broke the time of your absence so well, & I was so impatient to witness your happiness in your new state. I cannot feel too thankful for the perfect security I have in its continuance as far as depends on your husband, nor my good fortune in not losing you my dearest Child, but on the contrary acquiring such a son. Your Papa feels all that I do upon the subject, I assure you. . . .

“By the bye, both Georgy & Lord Talbot think five guineas ample for Mrs. G. John gave no more to the Housekeeper at Trentham. . . .”

From the Hon. James Stuart Wortley to Lady Wharncliffe

“HATFIELD HOUSE, *Saturday evening.*

“Pray dont croak. I fear you have been infected by the Governor who has been notorious for his croaking for some time back, & (by his letters) I find that John Talbot has also taken the infection. The little excitement which has been produced in this country by late events is marvellous, & ought I think to be taken as a proof of the absence of discontent. For my part I read every morning at breakfast a speech of one or other of the great men of the years 1792 & 1793, & when I see how much worse things were then, & reflect how the frame of our society, strong in the excellence of its institutions, withstood & happily survived that shock, I set out upon the day with renewed spirits & confidence, and read the details of foreign revolutions with perfect composure. If you get *very bad*, try my specific, & depend upon deriving benefit from the discipline. Placards of rather an inflammatory nature were posted in St. Giles’s and other most rotten parts of London during the past week, but they excited little attention & no disturbance. The demagogues are in despair, so perfectly abortive have all their attempts to rouse the people proved. If we have a hard winter & any recurrence of distress, we may look to riots, & as a captain of the ‘*Burgher*’ Cavalry I mean to order a uniform upon the prospect. But that there is any general or deep feeling of discontent I do not believe. On the other hand, the feeling of alarm & anxiety to keep all quiet is most lively & extensive amongst all the better classes.

“I came down here last night to have one day’s shooting to day, having procured a ‘Vice’ to sit for me at the Temple. . . .”

“Mrs. Fox I am told ‘*takes on*’ a good deal about Chesterfield’s marriage; it came upon her quite unexpectedly, & in proportion to the scandal of her former liaison, is of course her present sense of humiliation. Henry Greville says that Miss Forester behaved ‘so well’ because she was quite quiet & retiring, & did not set her cap. . . .”

The revolutions in France and Belgium had not been without their effect upon the working classes in England. To this cause of unrest must be added the high price of corn, the low rate of wages, and, most of all, the unpopularity of machinery. This last had led to riots and the burning of ricks and buildings all over the country. In London the new Police force, inaugurated by Sir Robert Peel, was regarded with dislike and suspicion. So great were the possibilities of disturbance that the Cabinet advised the King and Queen to forgo the customary visit to the City on the first Lord Mayor’s Day of a new reign. Although slight disturbances occurred in some parts of the town, on the whole the 9th of November and the night which followed passed off quietly.

From Lady Wharncliffe to Lady Erne

“CURZON STREET,
“Wednesday, Nov. 10, 1830.

“. . . The Military have never yet been wanted. The accounts moreover are much exaggerated, and the attack on Lord Bathurst’s House the night before not true. The mob (not a large one) went to Downing Street hallooing and crying out, ‘Liberty or death’ —‘no Police’ &c. &c. The one sentinel on guard by the Foreign Office met and stopt them, saying ‘I cant say anything about liberty, but I’ll soon let you know what *death* is if you come any further’; upon which they *turn’d about* and ran away, and in Whitehall were dispersed by the Police. These men seemed to do their duty admirably, and one is only vex’d when any of them get seriously hurt. However there have not been many yet. Yesterday [Lord Mayor’s Day] was a

day of such excitement, and such numbers of idle people were in the streets, especially in the City, that it is only surprising that there was not more serious disturbances. The impression I think seems to be rather stronger, than weaker, that Ministers were right upon the whole in what they advised.

“I did go to dear Gloucester yesterday, who was as amiable as usual. She *talk'd* of being frighten'd at public matters, but was in excellent spirits. To our surprise we are ask'd to the party at St. James's to-morrow night—however it is a very large one. The Governor and John are gone to the Levee to-day, and took Mr. Bethel, who the Governor is to present. Addio dear mama.”

On the death of George IV. Parliament had been dissolved.

On the 2nd of November the new Parliament had been opened by the King. The whole country was by this time clamouring for Reform. Nevertheless, on November 3 the Duke of Wellington spoke against any kind of reform, and asserted his profound admiration and respect for the legislature as it then was. This indiscreet speech shook a Government already undermined by dissensions. It was followed on November 22 by a defeat on the Civil List. The Duke resigned, and Lord Grey was asked to form a Ministry. Brougham, who had expected to have been Master of the Rolls, retaining therewith his seat in the House of Commons, was offered the Lord Chancellorship, which he accepted with affected reluctance. A peerage followed as a matter of course.

From Lady Wharncliffe to Lady Erne

“CURZON STREET,

“Wednesday, Nov. 24, 1830.

“. . . I do not at all agree to *both your* reasons for not saying any thing upon the late changes. That I know ‘pretty well’ what your opinion must be, is true, but if one is to be silent upon general subjects only on account of the real insignificance of ones opinions and feelings, one should never write or converse upon such subjects *at all*. Your opinions ought at any rate to be

worth much more than mine, as you have lived longer, seen more, & *cared* more about politics than I have done, & therefore *I* ought still less to give an opinion, & certainly never should think of doing so in *society*, however wise I may think myself; but it is very different when one is writing to a friend, especially a *feline*.

“I hope you was pleased with Lord Grey’s speech & the *Doge’s*, but what does such a man as Lord Radnor deserve for *his* at such a moment? Lord Grey was very much nettled and provoked at it.¹ As to Brougham’s appointment, it is a coup de Maitre, and he is well aware of it, but the temptation to his vanity was too strong to be resisted; and now that his tongue’s tied, his great talents may become as useful as they might have been mischievous if misapplied, and as he did not let out the extent of his plan of reform, he may now mould it to any thing Lord Grey chooses. The moderate Whigs of the present day are very different from their former selves, & in Office they will be still more so, as well as the more violent ones.

“I quite agree with you about the Canning faction, but my astonishment (the more I see and hear) is at the *total* absence of real *patriotism* in political feeling, and the universal practice of acting only from party or private prejudice. Nothing new has transpired about the man that was taken up, but I fear they will not be able to prove enough to hang him. People are beginning to be more active in the Country, so I hope the mischief will be check’d.

¹ In Lord Grey’s first speech on becoming Prime Minister he had declared his intention of not supporting “any of those fanciful and extensive plans for Reform which are supported by persons out of doors, and which would lead, not to Reform, but to confusion”.

Lord Radnor, who spoke after Lord Grey, censured Lord Grey for timidity, and for not proposing a sufficiently sweeping measure of Reform. Lord Grey replied that he was surprised at the manner in which the noble Earl had received what he had said. “The principle of my Reform”, he said, “is to prevent the necessity of revolution.”

Lord Wharncliffe strongly supported Lord Grey, and expressed a hope that the noble Earl would not be led too much by mere popular applause.

"It is so dark and thick a fog that I can *hardly* see to write. . . .

"I *never* leave your letters about."

From Lady Wharncliffe to Lady Erne

"CURZON STREET,

"Saturday, Nov. 27, 1830.

". . . I am glad we agree on the subject of politics just now. What you say is very true, not only we are spared the Whig opposition, but their *language*.

"In the meantime I am rather afraid that poor Lord Grey will not long stand his arduous and fatiguing situation. The first day he came to the House of Lords, after kissing hands, he said, 'I have just sign'd my *death warrant*': and two days ago he said to somebody, 'I am sure I shall not last so long as Canning did'. He is well at present, but with his strong feelings & excitable temper, & the new & constant fatigue of body and mind, I fear his health must suffer, especially at 67.

"Adieu dearest mama. I must finish as I am going with the Doge & Missy to look at pictures and drawings. She has just done a beautiful one, & color'd. . . ."

From Lady Louisa Percy to the Hon. Mrs. J. C. Talbot

"ROME, Dec. 6, 1830.

". . . I can hardly believe that next spring I shall be in England *fra i miei*? You would think it a compliment to *i miei*, if you represent to yourself the bright sun, blue sky & soft breezes which I am enjoying, & which I should be too happy to exchange for fogs, blacks & east winds for their sakes, to say nothing of perfect tranquillity, instead of howling mobs & burning houses. I cannot help hoping that the horrible accounts in the Galignanis are much exaggerated—as much, I hope, as those of this country are. We see every day in the French papers melancholy accounts of the march of the Austrian troops through Tuscany and the Roman

States, of the troubles here, of the rebellion at Naples, &c. &c. &c., while the whole country from the Alps to the Sebeto is in a state of the most perfect tranquillity. If there ever is a revolution in Rome it will be of a curiously different nature from all others, as it will in all probability [be] one made by the very highest class, who will not find it very easy, according to most people's opinion, to induce the lower class to go with them. It is melancholy to read & hear the accounts that all books & all people give of the state of the common people in England, & compare them with the situation of the *contadini* in this land of slavery *cosi ditto*.

"But I won't bore you with Italian politics, an infirmity to which I am liable, as I hear a great deal about them & little about anything else. There are hardly any English in the town. The Harrowbys went to-day to Naples, and except the Moriers (Haggi Baba) who are just come from Frascati, & Mr. Sneyd who arrived yesterday, there is not a creature we know. I wish you had heard his *rhapsody* about Mr. Talbot, it supplied all that you left to my imagination. . . .

"I am so glad to hear all you tell me of your family. The Copleys wrote to me in the same strain of Lord Talbot and Lady Cecil but it comes with more force from you. You have a pretty considerable dash of Stuart in your composition."

In the two months between December 1830 and February 1831 a great change seems to have come over Italy. Instead of perfect tranquillity, there are rebellions, revolutions and, lastly, cholera morbus.

From Lady Louisa Percy to the Hon. Mrs. J. C. Talbot

"ROME, February 12, 1831.

"My Uncle's letter announcing Charles's marriage has just reached us, and astonished us as you may imagine. Pray give him my love & my best wishes. I don't think I ever saw the sposa, so I cannot pay him

or you any compliments on his choice. Do tell me what you think of it, you may trust to my discretion.

“I must now tell you what is happening here. On the 2nd February Cappellari¹ was elected Pope, to the great joy of everybody. His reputation for learning, sanctity & talent is great, and poor man he is likely to have sufficient opportunity of exercising the two latter virtues. On the day of his coronation, which took place on the fifth, Bologna rebelled, drove away its Legate, & constituted itself into a Cisalpine Republic, or some such *arlequinade*. The rest of Romagna has followed the example. Day after day we hear of Ravenna, Pesaro, Fano, Ancona revolting. To-day arrived the intelligence of the convicts in the Campo Morto having escaped & spread over the country. This morning an edict appeared to stop the Carnival. In consequence of the extreme exaltation of the *Romans against*, not *for*, the Revolution, some fear was entertained last night of a general massacre of the French in Rome, & of course of the plunder & destruction of all the foreigners. All the guardia civica has been armed by order of the Pope, & is stationed in all the principal Piazzas. It is not an agreeable state of things. In the midst of it all, the only person not consterné, as Cardinal Rohan told me, is the Pope himself. His conduct has been perfectly admirable, the adoration of the people for him is extreme. Two days ago he went to visit the Convent of San Gregorio opposite the Palatine, where he had taken in former days the habit. The Trasteverini assembled round him, stopped his carriage, opened it, insisted on kissing his feet, exclaiming, *Non abbiate paura Padre*. When he heard of the Bolognese rebellion, he declared he would not compromettere nessuno but would go himself accompanied only by his usual escort of ten dragoons. They say it would [have] produced the best effect there, but the Cardinals feared for the security of Rome itself, and dissuaded him. . . .

¹ Bartolommeo Alberto Cappellari, born at Belluno, 1765, of noble birth. Elected as Pope Gregory XVI.

“ You won’t care for all this in the midst of your own *guai*, but I can think of nothing else, besides being to a certain degree frightened for ourselves. We have lived long enough here to have a great regard for many of these people, & it is impossible not to share in the universal gloom & despair. The cholera morbus has reached Trieste, some say Ferrara, to fill up the vial of wrath poured out upon this lovely country which but a few months ago was the quietest in Europe.

“ God knows whether we shall get back to England ever. Venice they say is up, the Duke of Modena is driven from his capital, nobody knows what the Austrian troops are doing. Their first step into this territory will, I suppose, be a signal to the French to enter Piémont qui ne tient qu’à un fil. In short, my dear Caroline, between revolution, plague, war & burnings, there seems to be no place upon earth to rest the sole of one’s foot upon.

“ Adieu—I will write to you soon again, perhaps this letter will not reach you. Mama & Papa’s love to Charles.”

Charles’s marriage to Lady Emmeline Manners, which was announced towards the end of 1830, took place in the private chapel at Belvoir on February 17, 1831. Though the two families were already connected by the marriage of Lady Katherine Manners to Lord Jermyn, the son of Lord Bristol, Lady Wharncliffe appears not to have known either her new daughter-in-law or the other members of the family. She was oppressed by the shyness which seems always to have overtaken her, and to have been always so quickly dissipated.

Lady Wharncliffe to the Hon. Mrs. J. C. Talbot

“ BELVOIR CASTLE, *Tuesday*.

“ We slept at Biggleswade on Sunday, tired of the dark, & by getting up early next morning arrived here in excellent time. The sun was only just set, so that in coming from Grantham we had the advantage of

seeing the Castle before us, 'bien dessiné' in mysterious grey against the beautiful gold and red sky. As we approached the situation was much more striking & the surrounding ground *much* prettier than I had expected.—The road is amongst small hills and thro' beautiful woods & ends by winding up thro' one to the Castle.—The awful moment of driving up to the door at last arrived! We got out, and after being led up staircases and along open gothic passages like a drawing of Cattermole's, we were ushered into the great gallery, (about the size of the one at Hardwicke modernised). There we found our Cornet, *alone*, having given up hunting on purpose to be at home to receive us. After a little while the Duke, who had been dressing, join'd us, and we made conversation with the *greatest success* till his Grace offer'd to show me to my room—such a long intricate way! So magnificent! Charles came too and then we consulted about how it was best to see 'our Emmeline'.—At last he said he would go and propose our going with him to her sitting room, and came back laughing, and saying she was *so* nervous she did not know what to do—so I thought it best, as he did too, to *get it over like a man*, and away we went, meaning only to see her for a *moment* and then leave her to dress.—It all went off *beautifully*.—She was *dreadfully agitated* but very amiable.—I kissed her, the Governor shook her hand. *I* said it was *very cruel* of us to take her by storm; *she* said she was shocked at us coming up to *her*.—And then, having told her of the parcels I had brought for her, said we would leave her to dress, and so trotted back to dress ourselves. I made Charles come to go to the drawing room with us, where I found the Dowager,¹ who was very kind, and two or three men—then came Lady Katherine,² then Lady Adeliza,³ to all of whom

¹ The widow of 4th Duke of Rutland, daughter of 4th Duke of Beaufort.

² Married Lord Jermyn, eldest son of Frederick, 1st Marquess of Bristol.

³ Married later her cousin, Canon F. J. Norman.



CHARLES STUART WORTLEY, CAPTAIN 10TH LIGHT DRAGOONS
(NOW CALLED 10TH HUSSARS)

By George Hayter. The property of Mrs. Henry Cust.

we were introduced, and in a few minutes dinner was announced, and the Duke took me in, and your Papa the *Duchess*, so she and I were on each side of the Duke—Charles was on my other side, and Adeliza next the Governor.—You think you see him looking shy and wretched? Not a bit, he talked away like anything, to *both* his neighbours, who seemed quite ready to talk on their part.—I got on as well.—In short our début was very encouraging.—After dinner, the ladies dropped off one by one from the drawing room, leaving the unfortunate Emmeline alone with me! We were tête-à-tête a long time, and got on very well, and I never thought her so handsome, or was aware till then what a pretty countenance she has.—She was very *prévenante* and kind in her manner, and in short pleased me very much.—When the ladies returned they produced their *work* so I produced *mine*.—Our Emmeline sat in a great arm chair listening to her Romeo.—Soon after, the gentlemen came in, and a Whist table was made up for the Duchess which your Papa was of course too happy to join.—We workers sat round a table, Lord Robert¹ writing in a book the account of the day's hunting, Jermyn flirting with his wife, the other men lounging about talking hunting. Now for my impression of the family,—I like them *all*. They are ladylike, good-humoured and cheerful, very civil and ready to talk.— Lady Katherine decidedly handsome, till she speaks, Lady Adeliza not handsome but very pleasing.—I was agreeably surprised at getting on so well the first day. Today the Drummonds are here and the Normans with one or two daughters, so I have *more* acquaintances to make, which is a bore. Yesterday we dined and sat in the small rooms which are nothing remarkable—today I believe we are to occupy the large ones. My bedroom (furnished with Wortley drawing room chintz) looks on the Terrace, and over that to the immense Plain stretching towards Newark and Lincoln—it is

¹ Brother of the Duke of Rutland.

handsome from its extent and the commanding haighth of the Castle. Now God bless you my dear Missy, it is near luncheon time, and at $\frac{1}{2}$ past two I am to go out driving with Corinne [Lady Emmeline].—Think of its being come to that! The Governor is quite as much pleased with her and her sisters as I am, and we both think we shall like her better and better, she seems so sensible to kindness, and so disposed to be ‘liante’ in spite of shyness and nervousness. . . .

“Your most affectionate,

“C. W.”

“BELVOIR CASTLE,

“Tuesday evening.

“Feeling myself rather like a black sheep in the drawing room just now with three Manners’s and two Normans, and thinking how they must wish me away, I thought I might safely absent myself for awhile, and begin a letter to you my dear Child for to-morrow.—The Duchess is gone to take her Nap, and the two Lady Elizabeths¹ have also disappeared so why should not I retire also?—My drive today answered very well and really I had no idea how much beauty there was about this place.—On one side you look down far below you upon an immense and endless Plain, but on the other, the ground is beautifully tossed about and wooded, and we spent an hour and a half driving zig-zag about in all directions round about the Castle. We talked all the way, about people and *things*; you will be amused to hear that she asked me *anxiously* about *you*, and whether you were not very severe and satirical; said she had been told you was a person very much to be *afraid* of &c. I tried to do away all these impressions as well as I could, and assured her that nobody understood you, but those that knew you *well* &c.—I really think you will like *her*, and if so, you will soon make her like *you*. We

¹ The Duke’s sister Elizabeth married, 1798, Richard Norman, whose son married his cousin, Adeliza Manners. The Duke’s daughter Elizabeth married Andrew Drummond of Cadland.

have not touched upon *poetry* yet, but I find she is *very* fond of pictures and drawings (which delights the Governor) but was very anxious to assure me she could do nothing herself—in short she does not seem to put herself forward in *any* way—as far as I have seen, I really like her very much, and am happy to see how fond and proud Charles is of her. Her sisters and Charles *bully* her about various little things, and she takes it all as good-humouredly as possible so that I expect we shall make her *perfection* when she belongs to us—You never saw a happier or more lively couple than the *Jermyns*—she is as much occupied with *him*, as he with *her*, and he is much improved in looks by being so happy, and grown fatter—nothing can be kinder than the family are both to him and Charles. Today we dined in the great room, which is beautiful, and as the Duke told me, *exactly* the dimensions of the new one at Chatsworth.— . . .

“ Wednesday morning.

“ . . . I have not yet given my *Sévigné*, but must today—I suppose you will say I am prejudiced now, but I decidedly like *ours* the best of the three sisters—but then it is perhaps because I have quite a new view of her since I have *Talked* to her, and she is different from what I expected in many things—but I cannot enter into particulars now, only the result is an *agreeable* disappointment, as it is called.

“ I ought to have said a word of the eldest sister,¹ who arrived yesterday—she is quite unlike the others in looks, but as far as I can judge a nice person—in general I should say of them all that they are the sort of people that are far better to know, and to know in the *Country*, than to meet in London—one great charm they have for me is being very Lady like and well bred and without affectation. I think Lady *Katty* as they call her is the Duke’s favorite—her good humour and spirits are unalterable. They all seem very fond of each other

¹ Lady Elizabeth Drummond.

and comfortable with their Uncles, particularly Lord Robert whom they call 'Bob'—Lord Granby is gone back to Eton—Adieu dearest Missy, I am going to walk with the Governor and see the Mausoleum.

"Yours ever,

"C. W.

"To-morrow at ten the ceremony takes place—
nous signons ce soir."

"BELVOIR CASTLE,
"Thursday night.

"This being our last evening here, and as I shall see you only a few hours later than my letter my dearest Child, I will only write you a few lines, as I said I would—I was obliged to rout up early this morning, very early for me, to be dressed and in the Regent's Gallery a little after ten, where we all assembled.—The poor Bride kept us waiting till past eleven of course, and at last made her appearance brought in by her Father and accompanied by her sisters, and the Normans. We then proceeded two and two, down the great staircase, (the servants peeping over Cattermole balconies,) down to a beautiful little gothic Chapel where as I told you the ceremony was got through surprisingly well.—[Portion missing.]

"We then re-ascended and after the usual kissing and compliments she went to change her dress, and we were presented with cake and Malmesey Madeira.

"The men then bustled off to put on their red coats, and after I had written my scrap to you, I went and prepared myself to go in the coach the Duke had ordered for me. Charles came to my room to take leave of me looking as happy and composed as possible—it was a great satisfaction to me to see him so perfectly satisfied and elated. I would not worry her with a second parting, and so left her my love, and set off with *Jermyn*, (for none of the other women would go)—it turned out all the better for me, as I had a long tête-à-tête with him in which I learnt a great deal, and got various useful

hints for my future and met with the *young couple*. *She* was dressed in white satin trimmed with blonde—a blonde veil and wreath of *real orange flowers*, and looked very handsome. . . .

“Once more Adieu my dear Child. Come away from dinner to-morrow as early as you can.

“Your affectionate

“C. W.”

CHAPTER XXI

(1831)

Reform Bill brought in, March 1, 1831—Prophetic letter from Lord Wharncliffe—Second Reading of Bill (March 21) passed by one vote—Letters from Lady L. Percy—General Gascoyne's motion carried—It leads to dissolution—Lord Wharncliffe's motion against dissolution—The King arrives in person to dissolve Parliament—Excitement about Election—Death of the Duchess of Wellington—Illuminations for Reform Bill—Clubs have every window broken—The Election "a desperate case"—Dinner at Kensington Palace—The future Queen—New Parliament meets in June 1831—Defence of Hampton Court and its inhabitants.

THE new Government, which had narrowly escaped defeat on the Budget, recovered much of the ground it had lost by bringing in the measure of parliamentary reform for which the whole country was calling. Some of its chief points were :

The disfranchisement of all Boroughs of less than 2000 inhabitants (Schedule A). The semi-disfranchisement of all those with 4000 (Schedule B). The grant of members to all towns with 10,000 inhabitants, and of an additional member to Counties of 150,000. The extension of the franchise to all £20 householders in Boroughs (amended by the Cabinet to £10 householders).

The letter which follows from Lord Wharncliffe to his son reveals the deep distrust and dread inspired in some of the most moderate and intelligent of the community by this mild and, to our minds, inevitable measure of reform. Perhaps Lord Wharncliffe saw more clearly than some of his contemporaries the far-reaching implications of such a measure, and shrank from the vistas which it opened up.

To James Stuart Wortley (aged 26)

“CURZON STREET, March 3, 1831.

“Your sister wrote to you yesterday, and I take for granted gave you some account of what is passing here. For my part, I was so stunned with the announcement of this reform plan, that I thought it better to put off writing to you upon it, untill I had had somewhat more time to consider of it. You have all of you treated me for some time as such a croaker, as was not to be listened to; my worst fears are now about to be realised, and the blow inflicted upon the constitution has already made it stagger; The progress of the ‘*mouvement*’ will repeat such blows, and we shall soon see established in this country what that old fool, Lafayette, has been talking of for some months, namely, a ‘monarchy with Republican institutions’, that is to say, a republic with a Person at the head of it, without power, whom they chose to call King for want of a better name. But I am afraid that the society in which you are now living will not give you impressions of the kind that mine are upon this subject. I know very well that *young* Lawyers are too apt to think with the popular side upon these matters, tho’, as they grow older, they become wiser.

“Let us, for a moment, consider what this measure will effect. The Government say, first, you cannot go on with your present representation; secondly, that your only chance of escaping violent revolution is the obtaining the middle classes throughout the country, by placing the elective franchise in their hands, and excluding the lower classes; and, thirdly, that this cannot be effected without a total sweeping away of the nomination and of the close Boroughs.

“Now I will not dispute the first of these propositions. I admit that some alteration is unavoidable, and that it is adviseable to place a greater proportion of the elective franchise in the hands of the Middle classes; but I utterly deny the last of these propositions.

The effect of this proposed measure is . . . that no man can enter the House but on a popular election, and to insure that election, he must begin by courting the people; and once elected, every vote he gives (if he looks to a re-election) must be influenced by an overpowering bias to that part of our institutions. There will, on the other hand, be no longer the least check to this popular influence by the persons who have hitherto been returned to Parliament without any obligations to that influence. But the proposers of the measure say, that they have avoided the pressure of that Popular influence to an inconvenient degree, by placing the elective franchise in the hands of householders of 10£ in towns; by excluding the holders of property in represented towns from voting for counties, in right of that property; and by adding to the County constituency Copyholders of 10£ and Leaseholders of £50 per Annum, for 21 years.

“In the first place, I deny that these alterations, supposing them *really* to have the effect of placing the elective franchise in the hands of the middle classes, would be sufficient to protect us against an excess of Popular influence in the House of Commons; and farther, I deny that what is proposed will place the elective franchise in the middle classes, at any time, but still less for the next 20 years. In all the large manufacturing towns which are proposed to elect members, every house, if valued at its rack rent, will be rated as of the value of 10£, and those which are not at so high a rent now, will, very soon after the new law is in operation, be sure to be put up to it by some means or other for the sake of the right of voting. . . .

“Then, with respect to the counties, what difference will it make in the power of the manufacturing and popular influence, in the West Riding of Yorkshire for example, that the holders of freeholds in represented towns should be excluded from voting for the County, or the small addition of Copyholders and Leaseholders?

No man can ever stand for that representation but upon the ground of Popular Principles, more or less of a decided character.

“Then 27 new members for counties are to be added, and the counties will be divided for that purpose. The result of that will probably be that the manufacturing interests will, in most of such cases, have possession of one of those districts, and the agricultural of the other. And all this to take effect when the power of the crown is already annihilated by necessary retrenchments, and the only real power in the country is in the hands of a democratic periodical press. Nothing but a miracle can save the constitution under such circumstances.

“But with my eyes open to all these dangers, and seeking for some chance of escape, I see no alternative which does not present almost as frightful a prospect as the consequences of this measure. It is so contrived as to flatter and feed the vanity and self-sufficiency of that middle class, and therefore to make them clamorous for it; while the radicals and the mob see in it the certain step to the consummation of all they want and wish for. When I say the mob, I mean the turbulent part of the lower classes, for I am not sure whether in those classes there are not more real supporters of the Crown and of the Aristocracy, than in the class immediately above them. If then the bill is thrown out, no one can be blind to the risk to which every establishment in the country is exposed. Nor have we any government—or rather any set of men—to look to to form a government which could withstand this plague if the present Government was to go out; while a dissolution of Parliament at this moment would in all probability be the first act of a bloody and violent struggle.

“In short, my dear James, I am sick at heart about it all, and my only consolation is, that to the best of my power and ability I have endeavoured to avert this

terrible crisis, and I hope I shall still continue to do my duty in this last struggle of the old constitution of my country. To you, now coming into active life, perhaps changes of this sort have not so serious a character, but persons of mine are not easily brought to look upon them without dread and apprehension. . . .”

Lady Wharncliffe to Lady Erne

“CURZON STREET, March 3, 1831.

“I sent you a little parcel last night containing your silk bag and magnifying glass. . . .

“I feel that you must be dying for more political news, but the fact is that there is nothing more to be said at present. The subject is still debating in the *poor old House of Commons*! & people are so *astounded* by the unexpected extent of the measure proposed, that the only feeling seems to be anxiety and alarm, even amongst the Whigs themselves. The general impression seems to be that it will be rejected by a majority of 100 or more. But then comes the question of dissolving Parliament or the Ministers going out, & what will be the result in either case! The Governor¹ is so unhappy, that he sees nothing but danger *any* way. However the English character will I trust save us, as their good sense is certainly beginning to work. . . .

“Some people think that the measure will only be discussed now, and lost piece meal in a Committee. There seems to be a general dread of a division either way *now*. I hear that not one of the Government spoke last night. I long for Mr. Peel and expect something very good from him. I cannot help wishing that the King may refuse to dissolve Parliament at all events—but will he have such firmness? I must say I wish I was going to the House of Commons to night. It is a most interesting moment, but painfully so, and you will easily believe that nothing else is thought or talk’d of. Adieu dearest mama. Missy or I will write constantly just now.

¹ Lord Wharncliffe; also called the Doge.

“Charles and his *wife* were to return to Belvoir yesterday. By his account there never was so *sweet a honeymoon*—how delightful ! . . .”

The first of the three Reform Bills of 1831–32 was introduced by Lord John Russell on March 1, 1831. It passed the second reading in the Commons on March 21.

From Lady Wharncliffe to Lady Erne

“CURZON STREET, *March 7, 1831.*

“ . . . Reports fly about & are contradicted so rapidly, that one does not know what to *repeat*. . . .

“In the mean time there appears to be very little strong excitement in the Country as yet, tho’ the Government *hope* for it before the second reading of the Bill, & leave no means untried to produce it. It is unfortunate that John Bull had so very coarse & absurd an article on the subject yesterday, it will do more harm than good.

“The Governor had announced a motion for Thursday, but several people have advised him to postpone it, as they say it would give the Government the opportunity of speaking, and, having all the best speakers on their side, of making an effect in the Country, which might be very much in their favour.”

On March 21, 1831, the second reading of the Reform Bill in the House of Commons was carried by one vote only after an extremely stormy debate.

From Lord Wharncliffe to the Hon. James Stuart Wortley

“CURZON STREET, *March 26, 1831.*

“I received your letter of Wednesday announcing your 1st brief yesterday, and am disappointed at not having heard from you, today, how you got thro’ the job, and liked your own voice from under a wig in a court of justice. . . .

“You will have heard from some of the family that

I have been in bed with the gout ever since Saturday. In these times I could not make up my mind to be so confined, and I therefore took the decided measure and sent for Sir H. Halford, who administered Colchicum to me for the first time, and enabled me to go down to the House of Lords yesterday to give notice of a motion there on Monday. As to matters here, nothing can in my opinion be worse, and our escape from a Frenchified constitution is growing daily more impossible. Up to Wednesday I believe the King had held out that he would not allow the Parliament to be dissolved. He has now, I have little doubt, given way upon that point, and a dissolution at this moment will deliver the country bound hand and foot into the hands of the theorists, who will force upon the moderate part of the community whatever it shall please them to recommend. You know how long I have thought I have seen this coming, but I scarcely thought it was so near, indeed it was difficult to believe that the King could be so infatuated as to deliver the crown and the Aristocracy so completely into the hands of their enemies. Madame de Coligny, of witty fame, said at Paris when she heard of our proceedings, *Après tout, ce n'est cune* [sic] *autre preuve du gout national, pour les suicides.*

“My motion comes on on Monday.”

Among the letters of 1831 are some from Louisa Percy,¹ who seems to have inherited from her great-aunt, Lady Louisa Stuart, and from her great-great-grandmother, Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, a gift for letter-writing. Though these letters break the thread of the narrative of the Reform Bill, they are too interesting to omit.

From Lady Louisa Percy to the Hon. Mrs. J. C. Talbot

“March 15, 1831.

“I write to you, my dear Caroline, on what is now the fashionable sort of writing paper at Rome, & I write to you hoping that you are all a *tantino* uneasy about

¹ See p. 36, Vol. II.

the fate of your relations in the midst of so many *scompigli*. . . . There are at this moment a body of ruffians from Romagnuola endeavouring to make their way to revolutionise us. Their numbers vary in accounts from two hundred & fifty to three thousand. They are kept in check by about two thousand men—all the troops the Pope has—stationed at Civita Castellana, & headed by Lazzarini, an old officer of Buonaparte; while the insurgents are commanded by the two sons of Louis Buonaparte and Hortense Beauharnois. Within the town the whole population is enthusiastically devoted to the Government, and the Trasteverini, the descendants of the ancient Romans à ce qu'on dit, have sworn to resist all attempts at change, and if any takes place to massacre every Frenchman in the town, in which proscription other foreigners would probably be included.

“Now you will say—why don't we go away from these possible dangers which I have not exaggerated, and I can only say that we have so good a chance of finding the same everywhere, besides brigands and the rheumatism on the road, that we are on the whole as safe as we are. Quant à moi, I am not much afraid now, though sometimes we are startled disagreeably by a report that the Romagnuola are at the gates. Don't you admire the *liberty* they take of forcing a government upon a country perfectly satisfied and enthusiastically attached to its own? This attachment exhibits itself in every possible shape. When the Pope goes out, his horses are taken off by the populace, and the numbers that follow him are so great, & their excitement against all they think his enemies, so violent, that an edict has appeared forbidding such assemblages on account of the alarm they occasion. . . .

“Almost all the French have left the town, as the irritation of the people against them had reached to such a height that *Morte ai Francesi!* was heard even from the soldiers. Ill luck go with *their horses hoofs!*! they have ruined this unfortunate country. The

peasants everywhere have I hear taken no part in the revolt, & several of the towns have joined in it merely from having no organised force to resist the Romagnuoli Ruffians. Others, Perugia for example, was induced to raise its standard from an infamous falsehood circulated that the Pope meant to double the *macinato*, whereas the first act of his government was to diminish it by one half. This *macinato* is a tax upon grinding corn which weighed heavily on the lower orders.

“But my dear Caroline you will have had enough of Italian politics. . . . Our individual fate depends on the decision of the Court of Austria. If they march their troops here, we shall go back quietly as we came, in April, as the country will be safe ; if not, Dieu nous aide, we shall I suppose return by sea, a more disagreeable thing in my opinion than being either robbed or murdered. Bologna has declared itself the capital of Italian Independence. I could tell you *varie fattorelli* that might amuse you, [but] they might prevent my letters reaching you. Adieu the post is just going out.

“Yours ever affectionately

“L. PERCY.

“The Austrians they say are coming, certainly I hope so, though they are *after* the French the cause of all the mischief.”

“PARIS.

“You need not suspect me of any inclination to dawdle here ; once across the Alps, je ne respire que l’Angleterre, for I have none of that indiscriminating passion for being abroad which makes many people prefer Geneva or Paris to London, where at least if everything is disagreeable, one has the very great pleasure of seeing and living with one’s friends. When I am not in Italy I want to be in England, & if it was not too great a brutality to leave Mama, I would go over next week with Charles and Lady Emmeline, my rigging being nearly completed, as I don’t mean to inflict much of myself upon the world.

“À-propos of Lady Emmeline, my dear Caroline, we have only seen her once as she has been very unwell since we came to Paris. But that once we took a great fancy to her, & you know Mama is somewhat difficult. She is so handsome ! & the setting of her head & throat puts one in mind of one of those *Contadine* of Albano who come down from the mountains on a fête day, looking as if nature had meant them for queens. You must forgive me this souvenir of dear Rome.

“Lady Granville we have not yet seen, having twice missed her. But to-morrow we dine with them. Everybody in France seems in a state of *grumbulation*, depuis la révolution, on meurt de faim ! is the cry en province & en Paris. God forgive me, I can hardly be sorry for them, having been an eye witness of the misery & confusion they have occasioned in other countries, which without them had remained peaceable and contented.

“The Swiss have raised seventy thousand men to defend *their neutrality*, but at the same time they are revolutionising & democratising themselves as eagerly as the subjects of the most despotic Autocrat. In short the universal panic and distress wherever one goes is really awful to behold. But I won’t talk politics. The mantua makers here have driven out of my head the few ideas that were in it. Good heavens, what a bore they are. . . .”

*From the Hon. Mrs. J. C. Talbot to the
Hon. James Stuart Wortley*

“CURZON STREET, Monday.

“Though I have not time to write much I must congratulate you upon your successful & I hope promising start in your profession. . . . In your case it is an additional source of satisfaction to feel that you owe your early start to the name and reputation which Papa’s character has made for him in the country. Your letter of this morning has delighted him as you may imagine, as well as all the family. He had not time to write to you himself for his time and thoughts are entirely

occupied with the speech he is to make tonight. Gooma was quite enchanted with your having thought of writing to her.

"You will be glad to hear that your brother lawyer¹ has been most marvellously successful *de con côté*. he has made upwards of 30 guineas on his circuit so far. . . ."

From Lady Wharncliffe to Lady Erne

"CURZON STREET, April 16th.

"I have just received your letter dearest mama, & quite agree in all you say of Lady Emmeline.² We get on very well together, I mean all the family, and I am very glad that their being in our House for a short time will help to improve the intimacy much more rapidly than if we were in separate houses. . . .

"I don't know *what* to tell you of the political world, it is in an agitated state, but rather in a good one according to our notions. But nobody can guess what will happen in the next three months. The dreadful state of Ireland *may* prevent a dissolution, and then, if beat on many points of the Committee, Ministers *may* be forced to resign. Then perhaps Mr. Peel may form a Government out of the moderate of both sides. Nobody seems to know *what* to expect, but certainly the Bill seems not to gain in popularity by being better known. . . .

"Did you read Lord Carnarvon's speech? Brougham's very amusing and clever but only Tommy Turpentine."

Lady Wharncliffe to Lady Erne

"CURZON STREET,

"Wednesday, April 20, 1831.

"What do you say to our triumph last night? ³ the Governor would be very happy if he knew *what* is to

¹ Hon. John Chetwynd Talbot. See p. 18, Vol. II.

² See p. 53, Vol. II.

³ General Gascoyne's motion for not reducing the representation of England and Wales was carried by a majority of eight on April 19, 1831. This, though regarded by the Tories as a triumph, was in reality their undoing as it led directly to a dissolution.

follow. But I can tell you nothing to day. to-morrow I suppose we shall know whether we are to be dissolved, or go on with our clauses, or resign!!!! no human being seems to *guess*, tho' the dissolution seems less likely than it was; the Ministers language & tone was so changed last night."

From Lady Wharncliffe to Lady Erne

"CURZON STREET,
"Thursday, April 21, 1831.

"I am afraid I must alter my tone since my petit mot last night dearest mama, for the impression brought to us at the Play, as well as Morpeth's language (tho' he really knew nothing I believe), was decidedly in favour of dissolution, tho' it is still thought doubtful. All dependence upon our good King is I fear hopeless, he is *sure* to be talk'd into anything by Lord Grey, & it is certain that tho' depress'd and annoy'd the night before in the House of Commons, they were in spirits again yesterday in the House of Lords. It is rather expected that they will go on with '*Schedule A*' to night, & if beat again, as they *will* be, dissolve at once. But it is possible that they may adjourn the debate, or proceed with the Bill if the majority is small. In short it is a very anxious moment. Mean while the Doge has some thoughts of giving notice to day of a motion to petition the King *not* to dissolve Parliament, but this is quite *entre nous*, as he will not decide till he has been down to the House of Lords, and talk'd to some other Peers. . . .

"We get on amazingly well with our new Daughter. She is a very nice creature, and will I think suit us *all*, especially as we get her out of some old habits of indolence and irregularity about hours &c. . . ."

"CURZON STREET,
"Saturday, April 23, 1831.

"The debate as you see is postponed again till Monday, and there is nothing new to say as to general

impressions. I am sorry to tell you our *Duke* [Duke of Devonshire] is *all* for the measure, and very unhappy at the Governor's opposition to it. Mr. Stanley's ¹ speech last night was excellent, on their side. John who has just been here says he never heard a better, & augurs still greater things from him some day. But I had rather he had spoken *less well* just now. No other member of the Government has yet made a good speech. Our side were in spirits last night at Charles Wynne's resignation, & one or two of the Household, & at Lord Seymour's coming over tho' in an odd way of his own. I wish those who are against or doubtful about the Bill would courageously speak out like them; for I feel convinced that *fear* and discouragement keep many people silent. . . ."

The second reading of the Reform Bill had been passed by a majority of one after a debate of unparalleled excitement. On a motion of Gascoygne's (April 17, 1831), the Tory member for Liverpool, "that the number of representatives for England and Wales should not be reduced", the Government was defeated. The Cabinet, knowing well how strong the feeling for Reform was in the country, decided to dissolve. Meanwhile, Lord Wharncliffe, who in common with the rest of the Tories desired to postpone the dissolution as long as possible, had given notice of a motion for an address to the Crown against dissolution. This was to take place on April 22. The Cabinet had already obtained the King's consent to the prorogation of Parliament by Commission. By a rule of the Constitution, however, the House of Lords had the right to dispose of any business already under consideration before admitting the Commissioners. Lord Wharncliffe's motion would certainly have been carried by a large majority. In this dilemma Lord Grey implored the King to go down without a moment's delay and dissolve the House in person, which he could do at any moment. William, though reluctant to dissolve, loyally supported his

¹ Edward Stanley (1799-1869), afterwards 14th Earl of Derby. Had supported Canning, and been Under-Secretary for the Colonies in 1827. He retained this post under Goderich, but declined to be a member of Wellington's Government. He vigorously supported the Reform Bill, and became Chief Secretary for Ireland under Lord Grey.

ministers. He brushed aside the difficulties raised by the Court officials about the State coaches and the paraphernalia proper for the prorogation of Parliament, saying that if necessary he would go in a hackney coach, and started for the House of Lords. Lord Wharncliffe had but just begun to introduce his motion begging the King not to dissolve, amidst indescribable scenes of confusion and disorder, when the cannon announcing the King's departure from Buckingham Palace was heard, and in a few minutes the King himself appeared.

Parliament was dissolved.¹ The battle had begun.

The story of the Reform Bill, interesting as it is, has been told so often that it seems useless to follow closely all its intricacies. At the same time, the part played by Lord Wharncliffe was so considerable, and was so closely linked with the development of the drama from beginning to end, that some new light must assuredly be thrown by these letters even on this well-worn theme. We have as much as possible eliminated the details of divisions and speeches in the Houses of Parliament, and have endeavoured to bring out the story of the Bill in relation to the opinion and social life of the time.

From Lady Wharncliffe to Lady Erne

(By this time the general election was in progress.)

"CURZON STREET,

"Monday, April 26, 1831.

" . . . We are still in good spirits, and tho' afraid of being too sanguine, are very much encouraged to believe that *our side* are going on well. What will amuse and please you I think is that *Charles* is this very evening gone off with Mr. Lockhart to try and turn out Lord Anglesea's men in a little place in Dorsetshire,² who are furious with him, and want to elect some new men. Of course it is to cost them nothing. But what

¹ The Parliament now dissolved was that returned after the death of George IV. in the previous year.

² Milborne Port Election. The result was the unopposed return of R. L. Shiel and G. Byng, the sitting members.

amuses me is that Shiel is one of their antagonists. The object of going to night is to arrive *first*, and we are assured there is every prospect of success. If Jem or John should come in for the Boroughs in Scotland and the other for Bossiney, we shall have our *three Sons* to support the good cause. The Tory party in Leeds have sent to invite John to stand for *Yorkshire*—but that requires more thought, as the Governor must be assured of not being drawn into any serious expence. If some more Boroughs rebel, it will be too delightful.

“I am now going to Court to our Citizen King!! and leave [Missy] to add what she can. Good night dearest mama.”

Lady Wharncliffe to Lady Erne

“CURZON STREET,

“Wednesday, April 27, 1831.

“Unless you was in London dearest mama, you can have no idea of the state of excitement and *busy idleness* in which we live, & the difficulty therefore of finding half an hour to write in. Perhaps we see more of it in this House than in many others on account of the double interest about Yorkshire, as well as general affairs. John is animated to a degree you never saw, and trots in here 4 or 5 times a day to report what he has heard. . . . He has been requested to stand for Yorkshire, as well as a son of Lord Harewood’s, but neither of them *will* unless something more than the old *blue* party will support them, & come forward with money enough to ensure their not being drawn in to any serious expence. Charles writes word from Milborne Port that they were terribly deceived as to the state of the Borough, but that tho’ at first he was in despair, he is now in better hopes. Mr. Lockhart is a capital person to be with him, & as an ally.

“So the poor little Duchess of Wellington¹ is gone at last! I am told she suffer’d but little, & was latterly

¹ The Duchess of Wellington died April 25, 1831. She was the Hon. Catherine Pakenham, daughter of 2nd Lord Longford.

so happy at the Duke's kindness & attention to her, that she said she never knew what happiness was before. Poor little soul, how well for her that she *did* die then ! I am glad for his own sake, as well as hers, that he did his duty by her at last. I hear he sat up with her the last night.

"Jem is gone to Scotland to try either for himself or John, that the latter might remain here ready to go down to Bossiney, or be in the way for anything that might occur in Yorkshire. We cannot hear from Jem I fear till Saturday. It is evident from the Times that the Whigs are not quite confident, & find it necessary to make *great exertions*. . . .

"The King shook hands with me as usual, and bow'd good-humour'dly to the Doge. I think him unpardonable for not reading the papers, especially as he wont talk to *any* body about public matters."

Some curious sidelights are thrown on the methods of electioneering before the passing of the Reform Bill, by Lady Wharncliffe's letter of April 28, 1831 :

"CURZON STREET, *Thursday*.

"I have nothing satisfactory to tell you dearest mama. Charles and Mr. Lockhart have no chance I fear because, tho' all the voters are for them, they are threaten'd by Lord Anglesea's Agent with notice to quit if they dont vote for the old members. A little *money* to indemnify them would have made it easy. I am very sorry for Charles, for his wife, & for the cause ! The Duke of Rutland cannot help him as he returns the old members for Cambridge. In Leicestershire I fear he is beat.

"You will be glad to hear that we escaped without broken windows ¹ last night tho' we were stout & would not light *one candle*. We all dined at the Dundases, &

¹ "The night before last there was an illumination, got up by the foolish Lord Mayor, which of course produced an uproar and a general breaking of obnoxious windows" (Greville, April 29, 1831).

a party of us went in the Coach & drove all about the most frequented streets, thro' *mob and all*. There was very little noise, but many windows were broken in different parts of the Town.¹ We (in Curzon St.) were only treated with *hisses* and *groans*, & a lamp at the gate broken. John's House escaped. Several of the clubs have behaved *gallantly*, & in consequence had *every window* broken. There never was such a *humbug* illumination, no enthusiasm, no violence, except window breaking in which Boys are as much or more concern'd than men. John's just come in & says we are beat at Dover! Hélas, it is a bad beginning, but no great surprise. . . .

"Good night dearest Mama. Did you ever hear anything so shocking since Lord Molesworth's time as this story of the poor Walsingham's!² How fine it was of her in the state she was to enquire repeatedly about her poor Lord. They say she was perfectly in her senses to the last! If she had not lost her head at first she would have had time to have got down the stairs. . . ."

"CURZON STREET,
"Friday, April 29, 1831.

" . . . The *nasty Times* is very triumphant this morning. Missy has a good account from Gong,³ from Hertford, & Lord Grimston is still at the head of the Poll at St. Albans, but neither race is easy! I have a few lines from Jem from Edinboro'—quite well, & not fatigued, & going on to Perth. John goes to night to Bossiney. You see how provoked the Times is with Harwish—surely other Boroughs will do the same.

"The Queen went on Wednesday to the Ancient

¹ "In the west end of the town the unrestrained rabble vented their fury on the houses of individuals, peers and commoners, who had expressed sentiments unfavourable to the Reform Bill. Among them were those of the Duke of Wellington and Mr. Baring" (*Annual Register*, 1831, p. 115).

² Lord Walsingham was burnt to death in a fire at his house, No. 57 Upper Harley Street. Lady Walsingham, who jumped out of a window at the back of the house, died from the injuries she received.

³ See Glossary, p. xiii.

Music,¹ & on her return the King met her on the Stairs in great anxiety to know if she had been frighten'd, & I know was altogether *displeased* about the illuminations [for the Reform Bill]. This is *something*. . . ."

"CURZON STREET,

"*Saturday, April 30, 1831.*

" . . . It is I fear becoming a desperate case. The Hertford election is going as ill as possible, & Lord Grimston is beat at St. Albans. The game is up I fear, & we have only to hope now that when the Bill is pass'd the Whigs themselves will resist all further innovation, & move heaven & earth to come in again for that purpose. Speriamo! I still hope something also from the good sense of John Bull.

"We dine to-day at Lord Dudley's,² after which the Doge goes to sleep at the Villa,³ & solace himself in his *garden*. On Monday we dine at Lieven's to meet the Duke & Duchess of Cumberland.⁴ How times are changed! It is said that when the Duke of Gloucester⁵ heard of the King going down to prorogue Parliament, he exclaim'd, 'who is *Silly Billy now?*' I give him *great credit* for it. He is quite against the Bill.

"Adieu dearest Mama. Charles came back this morning. He says there never was such a case of intimidation as the one he is come from."

¹ Greville writes on May 7: "On the night of the illumination . . . the Queen went to the Ancient Concert, and on her return the mob surrounded the carriage: she had no guards, and the footmen were obliged to beat the people off with their canes to prevent their thrusting their heads into the coach".

² Lord Dudley (1781-1833). Created Earl of Dudley, 1827. Foreign Secretary, 1827-28. Died unmarried, 1833.

³ The Doge's (Lord Wharncliffe's) villa. This was Broom House, on the Middlesex side of the Thames, just down stream of the grounds now occupied by the Hurlingham Club. Broom House still exists.

⁴ Duke of Cumberland (1771-1851). This was Ernest, brother of William IV. On William IV.'s death he became King of Hanover. He married, 1815, Princess Frederica, third daughter of reigning Duke of Mecklenburg-Strelitz.

⁵ William, Duke of Gloucester (1776-1834), first cousin and brother-in-law of King William IV. He married Princess Mary, daughter of George III.

“ May 4th.

“ Pray read the article on reform in the new Quarterly review. It is admirable, & not too late I trust to influence even the Government in their ‘ *Secret Councils* ’, or the thinking & rational but misguided people in all ranks of society. I wonder if the Ministers have the candour to read it, or whether they are afraid of too strong a light upon their dangerous and undigested scheme? John is coming back to-day I believe from Bossiney. We shall at least have one voice in the new Parliament to speak some truths. . . .

“ The Governor has taken very wisely to go every night & sleep at Broom House, & then comes in & dines in Town, or earlier, if he has any business. It rests & refreshes him amazingly, and makes it quite easy to all parties. . . . He has got a woman who can roast & boil, so that he *can* dine there when he likes. . . .

“ It is true that the King was annoyed at the illuminations, & angry with the Lord Mayor—nevertheless I fear he is really going to drive with him on the 20th. Surely the spirit in which the elections are carried on must open his eyes a little, & make him at least desirous that the question should not come on again this Session.”

“ May 12, 1831.

“ . . . We had a very pleasant dinner (not usual) at Kensington yesterday, and were delighted with our little future Queen. John and Georgy went with us. She is very much grown, tho’ short of her age, has a nice countenance and *distingué* figure, tho’ not very good; and her manner the most perfect mixture of childishness and civility I ever saw. She is born a Princess, without the *least* appearance of art or affectation. Her Mother’s conduct is the most sensible thing I ever saw—her own manner excellent, and the way in which she brings the child *gradually* forward quite perfect. When she went to bed we all stood up, and after kissing Aunt Sophia, she curtsied first to one side, and then the other, to all the Ladies, and then walked off with her governess.

She is very accomplished by *taste*, being very fond both of music and drawing, but fondest of all of her *Dolls*. In short I look to her to save us from Democracy, for it is impossible she should not be popular when she is older and more seen. . . .

"The Doge is at Broom House, but comes in to-night for the Opera and Devonshire House Ball. . . ."

The new Parliament met in June 1831. Reformers were in a large majority. The Second Reform Bill was introduced in the House of Commons on June 21, 1831, and the third reading was passed by a majority of 146 on July 8, 1831.

From Lady Wharncliffe to Lady Erne

"CURZON STREET, June 22, 1831.

"I am come up for two or three hours dearest Mama for the Governor to go once more to *Hernani*¹ at Bridgewater House, to which I was to have gone myself but both Missy and I are so knock'd up with the House of Lords last night that we are fit only for *bed*.

"We dined with the Clanricardes yesterday at four o'clock, and were in the House of Lords from five o'clock to very near *three* this morning, upon very uneasy seats, & often oppressed with heat. However we were on the whole well repaid by the interest and amusement of the debate. I have not had time to read the Doge's speech, but it was as far as I could *hear* (for he dropp'd his voice very often) very good, and useful in substance and in manner. Lord Grey spoke very well, but not with judgment, or the ease and confidence of a triumphant Minister. Lord Lansdowne was pretty good. Lord Mulgrave long and tedious. Brougham astonish'd and awakened us all by his extraordinary display of talent and ingenuity, & his *excessive impudence* & witty attack upon Lord Londonderry. I staid on after him for the sake of hearing Lord Plunkett, but

¹ The performance at Bridgewater House before the Queen and all the Royal Family. Greville says: "With the exception of Miss Kemble and Craven, the actors were execrable".

as his speech was upon a dry point of law concerning O'Connell it was dull in matter and without spirit. *We* had decidedly the best of the *argument*, & mustered very strong. The Ministers with the best speakers, made no effect at all, and seem'd to feel it. . . .”

Lady Erne had for some years had apartments at Hampton Court. Her defence of the system of lending these apartments to elderly and impecunious ladies is spirited and amusing. In those days the only qualifications needed were aristocratic birth and Court influence.

From Lady Erne to Lady Wharncliffe

“*Sunday, July 4, 1831.*

“ . . . I see Mr. Hume has had another touch at us ‘*Paupers*’, as in his delicate, courteous language we Inhabitants of the Palace are called. But I hope the King will not be goaded into giving up the Palace to destruction, or even to decay. His successor may possibly prefer it to all the others, and after all he has but a life interest in it, & I should think had not a right to pull it down. If not, it certainly is advantageous to the building to be inhabited, & I know that upon Mr. Hume’s¹ former attack the King said so. I dare say *that tiresome man* thinks our apartments are furnished for us, & that we are a constant expense to the Country, whereas, not only every *scrap* of furniture is put in & paid for by ourselves, but all minor repairs are also at our cost. The board of works does nothing but secure it against wind and weather. We have no indulgence either from the garden, except walking in it; neither fruit of any sort, nor the most common vegetables. This really should be printed, as well as the loss it would be to the poor workmen and gardeners & their

¹ Joseph Hume (1777–1855). Medical Officer in East India Company. Returned to England, 1807. Radical M.P. for Aberdeen, Middlesex, Kilkenny and Montrose. Moved Repeal of Corn Laws, 1834.

families who would be thrown out of employment ; the papers containing Hume's speeches being read all over the Kingdom and in every little ale House in Town and Country.

"What a horrid long prose I have made—so now I will have done."

Writing from Hampton Court on August 3, Lady Erne says: "I really did arrive un-murder'd & un-robbed about 8 o'clock on Tuesday but *very tir'd*, and somehow more moved than the circumstance of this sort of separation from you all warranted". She goes on to say that she had a visit from Lady Charlotte Greville.¹ "I rather think she is taking the opportunity of whatever acquaintance she has in the Palace to get a sight of different apartments, 'see the nature of the accommodation they afford & of the inconveniences which attend them'. However, we were *fort aimable* & had a great deal of causerie." Later in the letter she says that Prince d'Arenberg, writing from Paris, says: "The enthusiasm for their new King ² 'va jusqu'au délire', and that all the people of Belgium now sigh for is *quiet*. Happy, happy those who now do not sigh in vain for that blessing!"

On August 7 Lady Erne, speaking of her grandson John, who was at that time member for Bossiney, says:

"How they all stand the immense fatigue of their Parliamentary attendance, I cannot imagine. Lord John Russell seems to thrive on it. It makes one feel quite spiteful."

¹ Lady Charlotte Greville (*née* Bentinck) was sister to the 4th Duke of Portland, and mother of Charles Greville, the diarist.

² Leopold of Saxe-Coburg became King of the Belgians in 1831.

CHAPTER XXII

(1831)

Coronation of William IV.—Magnificent effect—Indecorous scene during homage—Duke of Wellington cheered—Description of Invercauld—After-dinner scene; Lords Kenyon and Eldon—Lord Wharncliffe opens fire for Opposition in the Lords—Withdraws his Amendment; substitutes another—Second Reading lost in the Lords, “as if they had rejected a Turnpike Bill”—Lord Wharncliffe and his Yeomanry—*Henry VIII.* at the Theatre—Lord Grey decides against resignation—Parliament prorogued—On December 12 Lord J. Russell submits Third Reform Bill to House of Lords—Lords Wharncliffe and Harrowby try to facilitate passing of Bill in Lords—Riots in the country—Specially bad at Bristol—Negotiations with Lord Grey—Meeting with Grey at Sheen—Lord Durham’s attack on Grey—Lady L. Percy at the Pavilion—The King’s natural children—King opens Parliament, December 6—Peel and Althorp—The Second Reading of Third Reform Bill carried, December 18, 1831—James Stuart Wortley finds Greys in great spirits—Visit to Mrs. Fitzherbert; the Duke of Sussex comes in.

ON September 8, 1831, King William IV. and Queen Adelaide were crowned in Westminster Abbey.

From Lady Wharncliffe to Lady Erne

“CURZON STREET, Sept. 9, 1831.

“You will like to know dearest mama that I am not only alive, but very little the worse for the fatigues of yesterday, and most truly rejoiced am I that I at last determined to go; for it was the most magnificent sight possible, and amply repaid the trouble of going there. I had form’d a wonderfully correct idea of the *look* of the Abbey, and the people in it, but the *effect* of the reality was far beyond ones power of mere conception. The Queen astonish’d us all, and she won the

hearts of all her subjects. I never saw her look so well, the crown became her, and her graceful, quiet and dignified maintien was quite remarkable. She seem'd deeply impress'd with the solemnity of the ceremony, and I was told was even evidently affected at some parts of it near the Altar which we could not see. The King did better than I expected, but is very infirm in his walk poor man, and look'd oppress'd with the immense weight of his robes and crown—but that perhaps rather added to ones feeling of interest about him.

“The Bishop of London¹ gave us a beautiful sermon, very appropriate and in very good taste. There was also very good music, tho' hardly powerful enough, and they sung the coronation Anthem when the King was anointed, the effect of which you can conceive. After that he is crown'd, and the sudden cheer throughout the Abbey, and the moment when the Peers put on their coronets, you *cannot* conceive. He then mounted his throne in the centre of the Aisles; and the Queen then had to go thro' the same ceremony, and *we* put on our coronets when she was crown'd. At first it felt very heavy, but I soon got quite used to it, and very much as if I was a *character* on the *Stage*.

“A most indecorous scene took place during the homage, originating in a good and spontaneous feeling. When the Duke of Wellington went up, the silence was broken by an involuntary and very general burst of applause, which lasted several seconds. It was really touching, for it was quite unexpected, but certainly had better *not* have happened. The consequence was that it became a party question, and as you will see by the papers Lord Grey and others on each side were also cheer'd. Brougham the only one as *much* cheer'd as the Duke. The King was warmly cheer'd as he walk'd away thro' the Abbey.

“If I find I *must* go to the Drawing room, and if you

¹ Charles James Blomfield, Bishop of Chester, was nominated to London, August 1828.

are pretty well, why should you not drive in to Town and see me in my *Robes* and *Coronet*, and if the Talbots are gone you can sleep in their room, and Ghee next to you. Do come.

“The ceremony ended by three o’clock without fatigue or bore, but we waited *four* hours to get away, which nearly kill’d us.”

From the Hon. James Stuart Wortley to Lady Wharncliffe

“INVERCAULD, Sunday, *Sept.* 18.

“ . . . Now that the Bill approaches the House of Lords, all its former interest revives, & the crisis must be to them most momentous & perplexing. Upon the whole I should wish them [the House of Lords] not to divide upon the second reading, but in deference to so large a majority of the House of Commons . . . to enter into the Committee upon the details without acknowledging the principle, & reserving the division upon that point for the third reading if it ever arrives at that stage. . . . As to the great & eventual question of resistance, I think that there can be no doubt—the stand must be made.

“The Coronation seems by all accounts to have gone off exceedingly well, but the only thing which I regret is not having seen your *Ladyship* in all the graceful dignity of your *robes*, & this I really do regret.

“I think I told you in my last letter that I was coming to this place, & most exceedingly glad I am that nothing has occurred to prevent me. This is beyond all comparison the most magnificent & enjoyable place I ever saw. The house indeed is very indifferent, but quite good enough to be very comfortable. But imagine to yourself a place situated in a most beautiful wooded valley, with all the beauties of Dunkeld, with the addition of space & extent of view. Through the park runs the river Dee (full of salmon) under some magnificent wooded crags, & from every point are seen some of the highest hills in Scotland, all belonging to the place, and

all included in the deer forest. Nor is the forest merely so in name, for most of the hills are clothed half way up with a natural wood of the most venerable old birches & Scotch firs, while the deer are so plentiful and so near at hand, that with a telescope & sometimes even with the naked eye they may be seen from the windows of the house wandering upon the sides of the mountains by which the place is surrounded.

"I was to have gone away tomorrow, but as I have been out deer stalking twice without having the luck to get a shot, Mr. Farquharson has very kindly pressed me to stay, & I believe I shall yield to the temptation. . . .

"By the bye, if you have an opportunity I wish you would ask the Duke of Devonshire if he ever allows his park-keeper at Chatsworth to part with his blood-hounds. I am very anxious if possible to procure a puppy for the owner of this forest, Mr. Farquharson, to whom it would be inestimable. . . .

"To-day I have been to church, where we had many *kilts* & a sermon in *Gaelic*."

From Lady Wharncliffe to the Hon. Mrs. J. C. Talbot

"BROOM HOUSE, Friday.

" . . . Since I wrote last he [the Governor] has had an interview with a great Radical (who requested it) with whom he had a long & curious conversation. The details I do not like to put on paper, as it was strictly confidential. Of course the object of the Radical was to try & prevail with the Governor to advise going into Committee, & pointing out the dangers he *knew* the Lords would run if they did not. It all passed off as amiably & quietly as possible. Since then he has been at a different sort of interview, a Tory dinner at *the Duke's*, in number about ten or twelve. Of that I can only tell you that it went off *satisfactorily more so than he expected*. I leave your wisdom & wishes to supply any further detail. You may think me too discreet, & perhaps if

the Governor was here he might allow me to say more, but I do not feel authorised to repeat confidential conversation on *such* a subject without leave.

“I must however amuse you with an account of the termination of this grave deliberation of Senators. In the evening, whilst the dinner party were still gravely discussing their subject, the door open’d, & *enter* to *them*, the Lords Kenyon & Eldon (drunk). Down they sat, & Lord Kenyon¹ began a sort of harangue upon the first reading of the Bill. This lasted about a quarter of an hour, when he sat down, & up rose the venerable Eldon, who made a no less luminous speech upon the second reading! All this time the other sober Lords were obliged *to try* & behave themselves, but were convulsed with laughter! At last the Duke of Wellington, unable to bear it any longer, & seated *between the two*, got up, *per sfoggarsi* to the Governor & some others. This put an end to the business & the Governor came away, & left them to disperse as soon as they could. He cannot now speak of it without dying, & says that to his last hour he never shall forget the exquisite absurdity of the scene. . . .

“I must not conclude without saying that we had a very agreeable dinner at the Lyndhursts again yesterday (having a rather warm burst of politics between Normanby & the Governor), but Normanby is *so* good temper’d that it never grew nervous, tho’ the Governor certainly *gave it them*, & Lord Lyndhurst like a *third dog* could not help putting in a strong sentence every now & then. We had besides Charles Greville, who when he was asked which side he was on, said he had various excellent arguments on *both* sides, & was quite ready to join whichever party wanted him most. This of course made us all merry. . . .”

¹ “Kenyon made a long speech on the first reading of the Bill. . . . Eldon made a speech on the second reading. Lord Bathurst told me Kenyon in his drunkenness talked nonsense, but Eldon sense. Dudley said it was not that they were as drunk as lords and gentlemen sometimes are, but they were drunk like porters” (Greville, vol. ii. p. 198).

From Lady Wharncliffe to Lady Erne

“CURZON STREET, *October 3rd.* 1831.

“I took that boldest of Barons [Lord Wharncliffe] (as Jem calls him) down to the House of Lords myself, to protect him in case of a *mob*, but we found no such thing, only a great many well dress'd people on each side of the way below Parliament Street, *evidently* there like *us*, to look for a mob, & thereby nearly making one themselves. But . . . all was as quiet as possible. I am rather glad I was not to go to the House of Lords to night as I should have felt nervous about the Governor, who felt nervous at having to *open the fire* on his side. At the last dinner at the Duke of Wellington's on Saturday it was finally agreed that, upon the whole, *he* was the best and properest person to be their spokesman; he would therefore have to get up immediately after Lord Grey, & as he was *very* anxious to say all he thought essential to the cause, he very naturally grew very nervous at the responsibility he had taken upon himself. However as he had thought it over for several days, & made notes, I feel very sure that after the first few minutes he would get courage and confidence & go on quite well.

“At about ten o'clock I am going with Missy to drive down to the House of Lords, for the chance of his being able to come out to me (which he said he very likely could do), & telling me how he got through his task, & who else had spoken. I *believe* the meeting of Merchants and Bankers mean to send him their petition to present. . . .”

On Monday, October 3, 1831, Lord Grey moved the second reading of the Bill in the House of Lords. In the course of a long and eloquent speech he spoke with considerable warmth against the system of nomination boroughs. Lord Wharncliffe, getting up immediately after Lord Grey, defended nomination, “not because it was made by peers or other influential individuals, but because its effect on

the House of Commons was to act as a check on popular representation, and prevented the ebullition of popular feeling from having too great an influence on the decisions of a deliberative body". He concluded by moving that the Bill be rejected. Later, however, he rose again to vary the form of his amendment, lest it should be interpreted as an affront to the House of Commons. He therefore begged leave to withdraw it, and to propose in its stead that the Bill be read a second time that day six months. After some discussion permission to do this was granted by the House.

From Lady Wharncliffe

"CURZON STREET, October 7, 1831.

". . . It seems probable that this night will be the last, but it *may* be adjourned again. Missy and I are wonderfully fresh after *two* nights, and *so* work'd up in the interest of the subject that I believe if it was to go on another week we should not be able to stay away. There has not yet been the semblance of a mob, and the people who line the street near the House of Commons look not only quiet, but goodhumour'd—even those of the lowest class. . . ."

The last stages of the Second Reform Bill had passed the House of Commons on September 22, 1831, by a majority of 109. But in the House of Lords a very different fate awaited it. The country held its breath while the battle was fought out in that stronghold of tradition. Grey, although his heart was torn by the death on September 26 of his grandson, Charles Lambton, the original of Sir Thomas Lawrence's beautiful portrait of "Master Lambton", made one of his most eloquent speeches. Brougham, in a paroxysm of enthusiasm for the Bill, fell on his knees, to the bewilderment of his followers, who were uncertain whether to ascribe the gesture to the effects of emotion or of mulled port. Lord Wharncliffe moved the amendment. In the early hours of October 8 the Bill was rejected by 41 votes. "There was no cheering, as with us in the Commons upon a great division, and no stranger would have imagined that a measure was decided that might occasion the land to be deluged in blood."

[Campbell's *Autobiography*.] Greville, writing on October 10, says: "Yesterday morning the newspapers, all in black, announced the defeat of the Reform Bill".

From Lady Wharncliffe to Lady Erne

"CURZON STREET, October 8.

"The hour at which I got into bed this morning & it being *Saturday*, prevent my writing you more than a few lines, just to give you the pleasure of knowing that we are all well & safe notwithstanding our fatigues, & the threats of disturbance. There never has been the *least*, and even this morning *at sunrise*, when all those who would have form'd a mob were up, we left the House of Lords as quietly as if they had rejected a turnpike Bill, and with no more people round the doors. This is a curious fact. The majority was greater than we expected. Brougham's and Lyndhurst's speeches excellent—but *all the argument* in the *latter*. The Bishops all but two voted with us. In short we are in spirits, & I hope your alarms are at least diminished.

"We have a letter from Jem, from Wortley, congratulating the Governor on his speech, & saying that he had stopt in Leeds as he came there & found every thing quiet, & tho' the wish for *reform* was not abated, the feeling for the Bill, *was*. . . ."

From Lady Erne to Lady Wharncliffe

"October 8, 1831.

"That excellent creature Mr. Child has given *Gee*¹ information of the throwing out of the Bill, by a coach letter, and the Coachman having added that all was quiet at 7 this morning, I enjoy the Triumph with *less mixture of fear* than I have been feeling for some time past, and a deeper satisfaction from the circumstance of our dear Doge having had so great a share in promoting it. You could not err dearest Caroline in concluding that

¹ Lady Erne's maid.

I admired his speech, and felt the highest degree of interest in the approbation and admiration it excited.

"I am complimented on all sides upon it. Lady Dacre, whom I saw at Lady G. Seymour's two days ago, said, she knew she ought not to own how much she admir'd it—she would not, if she could have help'd it, but it was impossible for her to help it, and she hoped that making this avowal to me, I would not *peach*, which I assur'd her *I would*. She was very 'aimable' about it. I was charm'd also with Lord Harrowby's. Lady Westmoreland seized upon me coming out of Chapel last sunday, and instantly began upon politics—very much alarm'd lest Lord Harrowby should vote with the *Billites*. . . ."

From Lady Wharncliffe to Lady Erne

"CURZON STREET, Oct. 9, 1831.

". . . We are all relieved by the explanation of your silence, which however I am rather angry with you for supposing would be pass'd over without comment, *even* during the reform bill. We are going to day to dine & sleep at Broom House, but the Talbots dine at Devonshire House with a *nest* of *hornets* alias *Whigs*. I think after to night we shall give up our Villa ; the days are growing short, the ground damp, &, after all, the Governor *ought* to be *here*, & in the way to see & consult with his friends what their line must now be.

"You see what John Bull says to day, it is an excellent article, and its moderation & wishes for the future rather surprising ; and invaluable at this moment when anything *Ultra* would be ruin. I hope you also read Brougham's letter, to which Lord Lyndhurst alludes in his speech. It is *quite excellent*, and makes one regret that *he* was not Prime Minister instead of Lord Grey—that it should come to this ! A little party of radicals took his horses off yesterday as he was driving up by Charing Cross, and drew him home, & then waited to draw him to dinner ! Lord Grey goes to Windsor to-

morrow ; till then, we shant know if he resigns or not. I really dont think he wishes to stay in, but his Royal Master may oblige him. . . .”

It is evident from the letter which follows that the passions aroused by the Reform question had even affected the Yeomanry.

From Lord Wharncliffe to Lady Wharncliffe

“CANTLEY, October 29.

“I arrived safe and sound at $\frac{1}{4}$ before 2 today, and found Doncaster in a state of expectation for my arrival, and of curiosity to witness my proceeding with my mutineers. As soon as I had cleaned myself, I found a deputation from the Sheffield Squadron waiting to inform me of the attempts which had been made to seduce them, to place the letters and papers which had been sent for that purpose in my hands, and to present an address to me, assuring me that tho’ most of them differed from my political opinions, they had perfect confidence in me as their Commanding officer, and had no wish to withdraw [themselves] from under my command.

“I then proceeded to the Town Hall attended by my officers to meet the Doncaster Troop, and found the Hall full of spectators besides. On my entrance there was a mixture of applause and hisses among that audience, pretty equally divided. I began by addressing the audience, and informed them that I was come there upon regimental business with the Doncaster Troop, that I had no objection to the whole country hearing what passed, but that we must not be interrupted by disapprobation or applause on the part of the audience, and that if I was, I should retire to some other place where the matter might be discussed more privately. This had the proper effect, and I proceeded to cayenne¹ my refractory yeomen, till I am quite sure they were ashamed of themselves, and told them that such as did

¹ See Glossary, p. xiii.

not chuse to continue their services under me, were at liberty to retire, but they ought to have known me better than to imagine that I would, at their bidding, resign the commission which I was entrusted with by the King, or that I should be turned from the path which I considered it my duty to follow on political subjects because it happened not to agree with their opinions. That I should be unworthy of the station I held in the country if I acted in any other way, and as I had never endeavoured to bias the opinion of any individual under my command, so I must hope that they would not insist upon my giving up mine.

“I then called upon one of the ringleaders to defend their conduct, not only as far as concerned their mutinous Round Robin, but their attempts to seduce the rest of the Regiment. All this had the proper effect, and I flatter myself that in the opinion of the bystanders *J’ai remporté la Victoire*. I shall get rid of 22 or thereabouts, and I think the thing is over. Nothing could go off more satisfactorily. . . .”

From Lady Wharncliffe

“CURZON STREET, October 27.

“ . . . We were at Henry the 8th on monday, & the audience was not only *very* goodhumour’d, but applauded one or two things which surprised us a good deal, in the scene between the King & the Archbishop of Canterbury—one passage where the latter talks of the honesty of his intentions, and the other, when the King tells him not to fear his *enemies*, for that *he* will stand by him. Both of which sentiments were applauded warmly, & if there were any hisses they were inaudible. There was a good deal of hissing & laughing when the Bishops *first* appear’d, but it was soon *entirely* over-power’d by applause; & once or twice more, also, when the same thing was attempted. This is really singular when one considers how mix’d the society is

in a Playhouse. Once when there was a great noise in the Gallery, one of the gods called out ‘silence there you *Boroughmongers*,’ which only produced a shout of laughter, & I thought the Governor would have died of laughing. . . .”

It might have been expected that after their defeat in the Lords the Cabinet would have resigned, but Grey felt himself so strongly supported not only in the House of Commons, but in the whole country, that he decided against resignation. The King implored him not to go out of office at so critical a time. Parliament was prorogued on November 22, and did not reassemble till the 6th of December. On the 12th Lord John Russell submitted the Third Reform Bill to the House of Commons and to the country.

For a fortnight or more Lord Wharncliffe had been trying to obtain concessions from Lord Grey which would have made it possible for the House of Lords to pass the Bill. These negotiations were in the main unsuccessful. Certain modifications, however, were granted; and from this time till the final passing of the Bill in the summer of 1832 Lord Wharncliffe, convinced by all that he saw happening around him that some measure of reform would have to be passed, devoted all his energies to facilitating the passage of the third Bill through the Lords, and to preventing the wholesale creation of peers. In these endeavours he was ably assisted by Lord Harrowby, the father-in-law of John Stuart Wortley.

The rejection of the Bill by the Lords on October 8 caused profound irritation throughout the country. Very serious riots broke out at Derby and Nottingham, but the most serious of all took place at Bristol in the last days of October. A large part of the town was destroyed by fire, and many lives were lost. All over the country trade was stagnant, agriculture was depressed. Added to this, cholera for the first time visited England, claiming 50,000 victims, chiefly from the poorest and most insanitary homes. Political Unions of all sorts—some well organised and moderate in their aims, others anxious for revolution and ready for bloodshed—arose side by side all over the country. Grey’s task cannot have been an easy

one. Lord Wharncliffe saw clearly that the ultra-Tories, by refusing to admit the necessity for any kind of reform, would force Lord Grey into Coalition with the extremists of his own party. Lord Wharncliffe's attitude was courageous and statesmanlike. It must have cost both him and Lord Harrowby considerable effort to incur the disapproval of their own political friends, and to hear themselves nicknamed "the Waverers". On Monday, October 10, threats were heard in a coffee-house against the life of Lord Wharncliffe.

The three following letters are from Lord Wharncliffe to Lady Wharncliffe :

"WORTLEY HALL, *Wednesday Night*.

" . . . As to the Bristol affair,¹ that does indeed appear to have been a tremendous business. We shall see what impression it makes, both on the public and the King and his ministers. It ought to open their eyes, but I fear that they are all stone blind. . . ."

"WORTLEY HALL, *Nov. 4, 1831*.

" . . . I have written to Melbourne this evening, and have sent him a paper issued by the Political Union at Huddersfield which I received by the post yesterday, and which I mentioned to John in my letter of last night. It is completely revolutionary, and, I should suppose, the persons who sign it might, if the Government think it advisable, be made to answer for it in a court of law. . . ."

"WORTLEY HALL, *Saturday Night*.

" I have received a letter this evening which puts an end to all hopes of my doing any good . . . in this part of the world, and therefore my stay here any longer is useless, and I confess that I do not in these times like to be away from those that are dear to me. I shall therefore go over to Doncaster on Monday morning in time to meet the Mails, and so be in Curzon Street early on Tuesday morning.

" The story of the Cholera at Sunderland is a frightful one, and even supposing it to be exaggerated and that

¹ Bristol riots took place on October 29, 1831.

it is not the real disease, must create an alarm which will aggravate all our difficulties. If the disease is really there, it will of course spread to Shields and Newcastle, and then the supply of coals to London cannot go on, as all the ships must of course perform quarantine.

“Nor do I at all like the accounts in the papers of the alarm excited in London by the Radical meeting on Monday. Government have, to be sure, the advantage of being forewarned upon that subject, and therefore it is to be hoped that precautions will be taken which will be sufficient to prevent any serious mischief, but it must be taken as a sign of the times, and one of the means taken by the Political Unions to bring about a revolution, which it is quite clear is their object. . . ”

The three following letters are from Lady Wharncliffe to Lady Erne :

“CURZON STREET, *November 24th.*

“I suppose dearest mama, as you sometimes see the Times, that you were surprised by a paragraph lately alluding to a negociation between Lord Grey & our Lords W. & Harrowby. It is very true, but as I did not think it would be very agreeable intelligence to you, I felt in no hurry to write to you about it, tho’ the Doge would, I dare say, have given me leave a day or two ago. The state of the case is this. The Doge, thinking that it would be a great thing if some attempt at conciliation could be made before the bringing in of the new Bill, determin’d to see Lord Palmerston, with whom he had a very satisfactory conversation, so much so that he desired him to tell Lord Grey that if he had no objection to communicate with him, himself, he should be very ready to wait upon him whenever it was convenient. . . . The answer was an appointment at Sheen¹ for the next day. The Doge returned to us much pleased with his interview. Nothing could be more amiable and open than the Premier’s manner with him, and he readily discuss’d all the points which the Doge

¹ Lord Palmerston had a villa at Sheen.

is most anxious about ; at the same time, shewing every disposition to listen to alterations not affecting the *vital* principle of the old Bill. The interview was strictly confidential, Lord Grey only communicated it to the Cabinet, & the Governor only to the leading persons on his own side. He has great hopes that he may succeed in ultimately obtaining a measure which will in a great degree . . . satisfy all parties tolerably well, except the Radicals, who have gone so far that the Government is quite disgusted & glad of an opportunity to shake them off.

“ The Doge is to see Lord Grey again in a day or two, having sent him a *resumé* of what he urged in their first interview, to read and think over. . . . The people he has seen and written to, on our side, have been very satisfactory, highly approving the step he has taken. If the Doge should succeed in this good work which he has undertaken, he will have great reason to be proud, & the Country will perhaps owe its salvation to him. He is in very good heart about it thus far. . . .”

“ *Saturday.*

“ Yesterday the Doge had a long interview with little Johnny Russel, very satisfactory ; and another this morning with Lord Palmerston, equally so. He is to see the Premier again on Tuesday. This is all I have to tell to day.

“ I am *very* glad you are so satisfied with what the Doge is doing. . . . The meeting of Parliament will be dreadfully interesting. The *Ultra* Tories must not be listen'd to. The Duke of Wellington is however as satisfactory as he *can* be, circumstanced as he is. Peel only cautious—true to his character ! . . .”

“ CURZON STREET, Nov. 30th, 1831.

“ I am sorry to say dearest mama I have not such good news to send. The Governor had another long interview with Lord Grey yesterday, but he told him that he fear'd there would be greater difficulties in coming to

an agreement than he first expected, &c. &c. Indeed he [Lord Grey] had evidently (along with the moderate members of the Cabinet) been bullied & overruled by the violent ones; & in all probability influenced by the taunts of the Press on *both* sides & the failure of the City meeting. They however discuss'd every point of the Bill at length, & parted satisfied with each other individually, but without hope of renewing the subject.

"Did you ever see so provoking an article as John Bull's last sunday. I cannot conceive one more calculated to frighten a timid man, or confirm a desperate one; & I have no doubt it had exactly that effect upon Lord Grey and the Lords Althorp & John Russel. It is really too vexatious! Lord Harrowby too I cannot help fearing may have had some share in hurting the negotiation, as he would not allow the Doge to pledge him, which gave a sort of *distrust* as to the line he might take, tho', now he is come, he approves entirely of all the Doge has done & said. But it is now too late. . . ."

Lord Durham, who was an "Ultra" reformer, had been abroad since the death of his boy. This tragic event seems to have temporarily unhinged him, for on December 6, at a Cabinet dinner given by Lord Althorp, he made a most violent and unprovoked attack on his father-in-law, Lord Grey, accusing him of betraying the cause, and incidentally of having indirectly caused the death of his son. "If I had been Lord Grey," said Melbourne, "I would have knocked him down." Lord Durham was strongly in favour of the wholesale creation of peers. Lord Grey, on the other hand, saw plainly that such a measure would infuriate the House of Lords, and would alienate at least as many votes as it would gain.

From Lady Erne to Lady Wharncliffe

"HAMPTON COURT PALACE,
"December 1st, 1831.

"Lord Durham's arrival to a certain degree prepar'd me for the disappointment of our hopes, yet your letter

of this morning my dearest Caroline shews me that one never is sufficiently prepared for what is very disagreeable. I have no doubt this *funeste* arrival has been hasten'd by the accounts of what was going forward here, and that his poor Beau-père has *quail'd* under his influence. C'est bien facheux. Nevertheless, I am glad our dear Doge has done his Part, and He must himself feel sooth'd by the consciousness of having done his duty so fearlessly, and given this poor Country at last a chance of salvation. I am as proud of him as if He had been completely successful, and am not without hope that some good may result from what has pass'd.

"The article you allude to in John Bull provok'd and griev'd me as much as you. The Press is, in fact, our banc—that, which means to be friendly to the good cause, by its violence and bad taste does I think quite as much harm as the others. The Morning Post has been very bad lately in this way. A proud and sensitive man like Lord Grey could only be irritated by such language."

From Lady Wharncliffe to Lady Erne

"CURZON STREET, December 3, 1831.

"... Have you read the Herald to day? There is a very curious leading article in it, which might have done good if they had had the sense to put it in some days ago. There is a wavering tone even in the more violent papers. ... But now I fear it is too late, owing to their folly in threatening & *taunting* at first, & the weakness of Lord Grey in not *daring* to brave them. ... It is too vexatious!

"I have a letter from Missy from Hatfield, *disgusted* with her ultra Tory friends who talk only violent opposition to the Government, as if that was the *only* thing they had at heart. Those people are certainly very

provoking, & do as much harm to the cause as the ultra Whigs. . . .”

From Lady Louisa Percy to the Hon. Mrs. J. C. Talbot

“BRIGHTON, 3rd December.

“ . . . This place is by no means very agreeable, but the air is much preferable to that of London at the present moment. There are a good many people we know, but nothing going on in the shape of society. The Queen’s petite santé has closed the Pavilion, except for dinners. We were at one the other day, & I thought it *though* royal very agreeable. It sounds immoral, but the quantity of natural children the King has certainly makes la cour pleasanter. They are all you know pretty & lively, & *make society* in a way that real princesses could not. The poor King looks worried to death, Tory as I am I could not help pitying him. When one looks at him with his goodhumoured, silly countenance, it does strike one that Fate made a cruel mistake in placing him where he has to ride the whirlwind & direct the storm.

“Pray write again & tell me what is going on in the world. . . .”

From Lady Wharncliffe to Lady Erne

“CURZON STREET,

“Sunday Night, Dec. 4, 1831.

“I cannot help writing you one line to-night dearest mama, just to give you a *little bit* of comfort, by telling you that Lord Carlisle call’d upon the Governor yesterday, and in answer to his observation that he was sorry the negociation had come to *an end*, Lord Carlisle said he did not *understand* that to be the case, he *hoped not*, &c. ; & then added that there was to be another Cabinet to-day, when the subject was to be discuss’d over again to see what might possibly be done.”

On December 6, 1831, the King opened the Session in person.

“CURZON STREET, *December 6.*

“I have only just time dearest mama to tell you that we have made as good a beginning to day as we could possibly have wish'd. I went down to the House of Lords between four and five, and found a very good place in a new kind of gallery for strangers & Ladies. The papers will give you an account of all that pass'd, & the speeches; but they will give you no idea of the effect of Lord Harrowby's little short speech, which put an end to all angry discussion; or of Lord Grey's expression of *gratitude* to him for getting him out of the Scrape his friends had nearly got him into. Nothing could be more mild and conciliatory than his manner, & the tone on both sides shew'd a sincere wish to concede consistently with former professions and pledges. . . .”

“CURZON STREET, *December 7th.*

“. . . We have had our amiable *Duk* to dine with us en famille . . . he is looking remarkably well and fat . . . I have been *intreating* him to go to Brighton as we are talking of it for Xmas, to get a little fresh air. . . . He would be such a comfort at the Pavilion where I conclude we should be invited with the rest of the world, but he seems to have no great inclination to go & *serve his Master*, & if he can, means to return to Chatsworth with Lord Cavendish¹ to shoot, if his wife would but be brought to bed. . . .

“. . . I dont think the speeches on *our* side of the House of Commons were so good in tone as in the Lords. Peel's speech seems to be irritating, & not like Lord Harrowby's, free from all '*party spirit*' . . .

“Good night dearest mama. I wish we had my friend Soult here to settle our political Unions.”

¹ Lord Cavendish, son of the Earl of Burlington, and grandson of William, 4th Duke of Devonshire. Lady Cavendish's son became 7th Duke of Devonshire in 1858.

“ December 11th.

“ I have just seen my Uncle [Lord Bristol]—he is not looking well, I think, & am glad he is come away from Ickworth where he is surrounded by reformers.

“ Yesterday there was a meeting of Lord Harrowby, the Duke & Lord Chandos, with the Ministers, & the Duke seems to hope again that some good may come of it. Lord Durham was *not* present. There is a very good article in John Bull this morning in *quite* a different tone from the last few Sundays, so that I hope he has had some hint, & will continue to be of use to the cause.

“ I told you before I think that we all dine to day at Devonshire House. Lady Cavendish & her son are going on quite well.”

On December 12, 1831, as we said already, Lord John Russell brought in the Third Reform Bill. In principle it was essentially the same as its predecessors. The slight modifications in it would, it was said, in no way impair its efficiency. Peel, however, in an unwise and violent speech, declared that the changes in the new Bill were an ample justification of the Opposition's resistance to the last.

“ CURZON STREET, December 12th.

“ Tho' you will have the account of the House of Commons in the papers to-morrow, I think you will like to hear the report of the impression the Duke brought away; having heard a great part of Johnny's speech. He seems to think they have acted up to all they profess'd in talking with him & Lord Harrowby.

“ Good night dearest mama. I will keep my letter open as long as I can. Of course Georgy & her Mother are at the House of Commons.”

“ CURZON STREET,
“ December 13th, 1831.

“ You will I think be provoked, as everybody was, with the very injudicious speech of Sir R. Peel, & the danger it produced of disturbing the good temper of the

House. Nothing but Lord Althorp's good humour & temperate answer could have prevented a very angry discussion. However our party were very much annoy'd, & Lord Chandos, Lord Sandon & John, & one or two more, got up & said a few words to calm the irritation they foresaw would be produced, & succeeded so far that at the end of the debate a pretty good tone was restored. But really it is too bad of a man of sense, & in Peel's situation, for the paltry pleasure of venting his spiteful feelings, to risk the success of all the attempts at conciliation which the moderate party have been making. I hope he will see how unpopular his language was with them, & not repeat it, or they will most certainly disclaim any union of feeling with him.

"Lord Haddington¹ dined with us yesterday, & we took him at about eleven o'clock to Lord Harrowby's, where they were quietly playing at *whist*, but where we heard all the news as *all* the family had been at the House of Commons. There is a most excellent article in the Herald this morning & highly complimentary to the House of Lords. . . ."

From the Hon. James Stuart Wortley to Lady Wharncliffe

"... I have heard very little of the Edinburgh Reform meeting, but what little I have heard leads me to think that it was like those in London, & very unlike what its promoters wished. There certainly is a reaction, & I rejoice to learn that the Lords are likely to be stout enough to take advantage of it. The very fact of such an ebb in the public feeling having taken place is sufficient to justify the House of Lords in repudiating the child of such an unnatural excitement as that by which the Reform Bill has been dandled into it's present stage

¹ Thomas, 9th Earl of Haddington (1780-1858). Married, 1802, Maria, only daughter of George, 4th Earl of Macclesfield. Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, 1834-35. First Lord of the Admiralty, 1841-46. Lord Privy Seal, 1846.

of existence. History will justify their resistance, though abuse & contumely will be their only present reward. . . .”

From Lady Wharncliffe to Hon. Mrs. J. C. Talbot

“CURZON STREET, *Saturday*.

“ . . . There was a meeting at Peel’s two or three days ago, when people were so moderate that he told John he did not think it necessary to have another. He does not seem to be at all aware of the *tone* of his own speech—how odd !

“ I shall write again on Monday with the account of to day. People seem’d bored to death last night with the worn out subject. A division is expected to-night.

“ I was last night at Mrs. Damer’s to hear a wonderful Organ, you never heard anything so beautiful, & the Waltzes & Gallopes the prettiest I ever heard. . . .”

From Lady Wharncliffe to Lady Erne

“CURZON STREET, *December 17th*.

“ . . . Jem says he never heard anything so brilliant & eloquent as Macaulay. Croker’s answer clever & amusing, but very little about *Reform*. Altogether the House was flat, & both sides seem’d bored. Parliament dont meet again till the 17th [January], which gives them comfortable holidays. . . .”

In the early hours of Saturday, December 18, the second reading of the Third Reform Bill was carried in the House of Commons by 324 to 162—exactly 2 to 1.

From Lady Wharncliffe to Lady Erne

“CURZON STREET,
“ *December 18, 1831*.

“ You will not be surprised at the division last night dearest mama. The Governor had rather not have had

any, because he thinks it shews a determination to oppose everything, but otherwise does not much care about its numbers, as he says nobody expected, or wished, *not* to go into the Committee. Stanleys speech was the best he ever made, John says; *he* also spoke early in the evening, & I am told by others, very well. I long for to-morrow's paper & report of it. Peel's speech was good, & his defence of himself on the Catholic question call'd forth by Macaulay's taunts the days before. It was very well received by the House, & cheer'd by both sides.

"The tone of the debate was on the whole pretty good, & only a little bitterness now & then. They will now have a month to cool still more, on both sides, & make up their minds what they will concede to each other. . . .

"Jem is dining with the Greys."

The next three letters are from Lady Wharncliffe to the Hon. Mrs. J. C. Talbot :

"CURZON STREET, *Sunday*.

". . . To begin with the House of Commons. The Governor & I went between ten & eleven to Georgy's last night; & as it was Saturday we reckon'd upon John & Lady Harrowby being back soon after twelve. It was however near two before they arrived, & Georgy had a bad night in consequence & is not so well to day, but I thought as she had taken laudanum at about twelve we had better stay, than that she should fall asleep & be roused again by the arrival of the others. The division was about two to one, & rather worse than last time. . . .

"John says that Denison¹ came & sat by him, & ask'd him his opinion of things, &c., & John took the opportunity to say that as to the conduct of persons on

¹ John Evelyn, 1st Viscount Ossington (1800–1873). M.P. for Nottinghamshire, 1831, and for South Nottinghamshire, 1833–35. Speaker of the House of Commons, 1857–72.

the Committee, its fate would depend on whether they *spoke out* or not *this* time ; that it was well known what the sentiments of many were on the late Bill who voted for it, & that if now they would still say *one thing* in Society, & *give their vote* the other way, the Bill had of course no chance of being mended, & must take its chance. Denison said not a word, look'd strait before him, & soon after got up & walked away. I cant say how glad I am that John had the courage to speak out.

“Monday.

“I am sorry to say Jem came home last night rather unhappy from the Greys. They seem'd all in great spirits, & their friends were all wishing them joy of the division. I must say I cannot understand the triumph *this* time as nobody doubted the result. However the Governor is rather low about it, & thinks it will produce a bad effect on our party, & a false one in the country. It is well there is a month to come before parties clash again. . . .”

“BRIGHTON, *December 25th*, 1831.

“ . . . I saw our poor Duke to day chez lui . . . he was not well enough to be at the palace on friday, or to have us to dinner yesterday. . . .

“I have very little to tell you about the Pavilion except that it was very pleasant, because Mathews ¹ was excellent ; but as we were seated all the time like at a Concert, & I sat not very near the Royals, I had no intercourse with them except between the acts, when the King came towards Lady Beverley & me, & was very kind as usual. The Governor was behind us & only got a bow. We were order'd there before nine, to be assembled before they came out from dinner, when they appear'd they hardly spoke to anybody, but walk'd directly thro' to the great music room & took their seats. *The King* laugh'd till he *cried* at many parts ; the Queen did not seem to enjoy it so much—probably did not

¹ Probably Charles Mathews (1776–1835), comedian.

understand a great deal of it. I think her looking *very* ill & thinner than ever, & she spoke to very few people. When I look'd about me at the rooms, I could not help thinking of old times! The King looks remarkably well. . . ."

"BRIGHTON, *December 29, 1831.*

" . . . We do our Brighton very prosperously, & are become resign'd to the visitings, which after all end generally in only leaving cards, or calling at the hours when everybody is calling upon everybody, & therefore one is never let in. Yesterday however Georgy & I call'd late on Mrs. Fitzherbert & were let in which I was glad of, as you know I am fond of her. She was just recovering from a very bad cold. The Governor join'd us there, & as we were thinking of going away, the door open'd & H.R.H. the Duke of *Sussex* was announced, Of course we were all up in a moment & prepared to depart, when Mrs. Fitzherbert having named us to him (for it was growing very dark) he begg'd he might frighten nobody away, &c., so down we sat again, & we agreed when we came away that he was very agreeable, & *perfectly* well manner'd—in short he confirmed ones view of the family which is certainly a curious one; so exactly what they ought to be, when they *choose*, & so much the reverse at other times. He staid an immense time, & I thought it right to stay also. He talk'd of your accident at Ingestre, & went off in the strongest terms of praise of *My lord* [Lord Talbot], who he said he knew *intimately*. You will have him soon in your neighbourhood, & he only stays here to 'bow out the old, & bow in the new year with the King'. We were struck with his manner to Mrs. Fitzherbert when he first came in; 'how do ye do my dear Ma'am', then kiss'd her hand, & then her *cheek*. It was very funny altogether. After he was gone, she kept us a little while longer, & then went off about his politics, & said she never would listen to him when he began talking '*his nonsense*'. She is miserable about the state of things, & told us a

good deal about the *great family*, who are never allow'd to talk a word on the subject, or is the subject ever heard within the walls of the Pavilion. I think it is very wise ; considering too the difference of opinion amongst the Children, & the danger of saying the smallest thing *himself* before so many. Somebody told us yesterday that the King had said to the Duke of Richmond¹ (who is here) that he had not yet had an opportunity of asking Lord Wharncliffe to dinner—it was an odd person to say it to. . . .”

¹ Charles Gordon Lennox, 5th Duke of Richmond (1791–1860). Assistant military secretary to Wellington in Portugal, 1810–14. Succeeded his father in the dukedom, 1819. K.G., 1828. Postmaster-General, 1830–34.

CHAPTER XXIII

(1832)

Negotiations broken off—The creation of Peers—Lord Grey at the Pavilion—Lord Wharncliffe has *tête-à-tête* with the King—The cholera—Colonel Brereton's suicide—Manners at the Pavilion—Interview with Duke of Wellington—No surrender—Representation of Halifax—The King entirely in hands of Government—Lord Wharncliffe's long letter from the Duke of Wellington—Dinner at the Pavilion—Lord Wharncliffe's Memorandum to the King—Lord Grey unconvinced—Interview between Lord Grey and the "Waverers"—Cholera precautions—The King amongst a parcel of widows—Appreciation of the Queen.

ON December 30, 1831, Lord Grey heard from Lord Wharncliffe that negotiations must be considered as closed. The "Waverers" had not obtained the concessions they hoped for and could, therefore, make no definite promise of support. The year closed on a note of doubt and despondency for all concerned.

On January 2, 1832, a critical meeting of the Cabinet was held. The failure of the negotiations with the "Waverers" made it clear that the creation of new peers could no longer be put off. It was agreed as a compromise that Grey should propose that a small number be created, on the distinct understanding that a larger batch might be required later.

On January 3 Lord Grey went down to Brighton to see the King. Lady Wharncliffe, who had been at Brighton for some time, comments on his visit.

From Lady Wharncliffe to Lady Erne

"BRIGHTON, Jan. 3, 1832.

"I am sorry to find dearest mama that you feel so unwell from the cold. It affects me also very much, &

I now keep in the house all morning & only go out to dinner, which I don't mind. To-day however I am happy to say I dine at home, & shall therefore not put my nose out all day. To-morrow we are asked to dine at the *Palace* for the first time, & I find the Bristols & the Beverleys are so also; so it is a Tory dinner. To-day Lord Grey comes down, but only for one night I believe, & *they say* he is come to take the King's final opinion as to making more Peers, & to tempt him by proposing to include *all the Sons*.¹ This would be too bad, & will disgust numbers of people even amongst their friends. I am afraid our *Duke* will approve of *any* thing Lord Grey chooses to do. . . .

"My Uncle [Lord Bristol] has written to Sir H. Taylor,² & hopes to present his address to-morrow. I wish it had been to-day, before Lord Grey came, that he might have heard of it on his arrival. I hear the Essex address is quite as respectably & numerously sign'd. I hope more will continue to come in—better late than never! . . ."

About this time the Tories all over the country appear to have vented their feelings in numerous addresses to the King.

From Lord Wharncliffe to the Hon. James Stuart Wortley

"BRIGHTON, Jan. 3, 1832.

" . . . We dine at the Pavilion tomorrow for the first time, but with what sort of Party, God knows. Lord Grey is to be there today with, as it is surmised, a list of new Peers to be submitted to His Majesty, and among them are said to be included *all the Bastards*, by way of a bribe, I suppose, to induce him to consent to making the others. But I will not believe all this till I see it. Some Peers, perhaps 10 or so may possibly

¹ William IV.'s illegitimate sons.

² Sir Herbert Taylor (1775–1839). Secretary to Lord Grenville, and in the Foreign Office. Saw active service in Duke of York's campaign in the Netherlands, and made Lieutenant in 2nd Dragoon Guards. Secretary to Duke of York, Queen Charlotte and William IV.

be made, because there are promises unfulfilled to Francis Osborne, &c. Lord Grey must know that there is no disposition upon the part of many who opposed the last bill in the House of Lords to throw it out again, merely because they cannot approve of the principle, if they can obtain alterations in the details. An attempt to overbear the Peers by a large creation, would be a most wanton destruction of the authority and respect for that branch of the Legislature, and be, in fact, a real step in the Revolution. But the friends of Government talk coolly of it [the creation of Peers] as necessary for the future support of Government, independently of this question, and to destroy the opposing party in the House of Lords. If they can reason thus, we are indeed delivered over to the blind and the Reckless."

From Lady Wharncliffe to the Hon. Mrs. J. C. Talbot

"BRIGHTON, Jan. 5, 1832.

"... The evening [at the Pavilion] pass'd very pleasantly at Commerce, which the King seem'd to be amused with, & dear Augusta¹ gay & delighted. She sat on one side of the King and *I* on the other, & her whole anxiety was that he should take in the cards he wanted. H.M. took *me in hand*, & advised me, as I announced that I was very stupid at cards, to which he said, 'come come Ma'am, you are *fishing* for a *compliment*, but you know very well what I think of you, how much I admired you long ago, *do* admire you, & always *shall* admire you'—there's for you !

"The Queen was very civil, & apologised for not having seen me last time I was there. She talk'd a long time to Lady Beverley & me when we came out from dinner, & was so *nice* & well dress'd (all in white), that she revived all my *coronation feelings* for her. She seem'd quite well, & in particularly good spirits. She sat down to work when the King sat down to cards, &

¹ Princess Augusta, William IV.'s sister. Died unmarried.

was very busy counting the stitches of a *Berlin pattern*, but talking to the Ladies sitting round the table with her. The band is really very good & played beautiful things. We sat in the long low drawing room opening into the music room. When we arrived before dinner we found only the Bristols & Beverleys arrived & one or two more, which immediately put me at my ease. Then came Augusta. The King came in soon after and talk'd to us all ; & then the Queen. We then went into dinner, which was really very magnificent, & in that fine & gorgeous room. Lord Falkland took me in, & I liked him very much. . . .

“ Lord Grey was très *aimable* to the Governor [Lord Wharncliffe], but not in spirits, & sat in the music room all night with a few others, chiefly *young Ladies*. He stays till friday.”

In another letter of the same date to her mother, Lady Wharncliffe says :

“ . . . Lord Falkland,¹ tho' a Whig, was very *reasonable*, & we got on amazingly well. Nothing of course has transpired, but I hear the Premier stays till friday. It was certainly funny to see him the only Minister in such a nest of hornets as the Bristols, the Beverleys & ourselves ! He looks well but grave. . . .”

On the following day, January 6, 1832, Lady Wharncliffe writes to her daughter :

“ I hear poor Lord Grey talks despondingly of himself as being unequal to the fatigue & anxiety he has to go thro', & as if he was overpower'd by business, & his health giving way. I cannot help pitying him, tho' it is all his own fault.

“ The Lyndhursts² have not yet been ask'd, which I am sorry for ; as they go tomorrow, & I am sure

¹ Lucius Bentinck Cary, 10th Viscount Falkland. Married Lady Amelia Fitzclarence, illegitimate daughter of William IV.

² See p. 12, Vol. II.

the King would not *mean* to leave them out, as his great object is to shew no distinctions on account of politics. . . .

“ I have not time to say more to day. We meet the Lyndhursts at dinner to day at the Beverleys. . . . ”

In a letter of January 7, to Mrs. J. C. Talbot, Louisa Percy describes the same dinner party:

“ . . . Your people live almost next door to us, so that it is like being in a country house together. They of course tell you all the news of this place—how Lord Grey came down two days ago to persuade (as it is supposed) the King to create forty new Peers ; and how we all Anti Reformers dined at the Pavilion yesterday. I assure you it was very interesting. We were all trying to ‘ attrapper quelques indices ’ from the words, looks & manner of Lord Grey, & the King & Queen, & it put one in mind of some of the scenes described in Dangeau. However we could, as you will readily believe, collect nothing, except that Her Majesty was in remarkably good spirits (a good sign for us), the King as usual poor dear man very civil, rather bewildered & talking à tort et à travers, & Lord Grey very agreeable. I am sorry to say I fell a complete victim to his agreeableness. I never met him before, & had prepared myself to hate him magnanimously for the good of my country. But as I happened to be placed by him at dinner, my resolution failed me long before it was over.

“ The Lyndhursts have been here for a week. She has made up her tiff with the Duke of Devonshire, with many protestations on her part of being totally unbiassed by his good house, his fashion, &c. &c.—actuated only by the disinterested friendship she feels for him. She went on in this line last night, till I was fairly obliged to retreat to a distant corner and *fiddle* with my work, that I might not succumb to the strong inclination I felt *de lui rire au nez*.

“ I know no people so diverting as that pair—their

unusual vulgarity—their uncommon cleverness—their constant sub-flirtation—& the address with which they play into one another's hands, make them more like a scene in a clever novel than anything one ever saw before.

“ But I will not weary you with any more Brighton news. I was delighted to hear better from you all, & that the gamekeeper after all was not killed by Lord Talbot. I cannot conceive anything so delightful as that discovery must have been to him. . . .

“ If you have not [read] two Novels called the False Step & the Sisters¹ I recommend. I have committed the infinite folly of *crying* over the latter all this morning, after the fashion of young ladies in novels.”

On January 8, 1832, Lady Wharncliffe writes to her mother :

“ Nothing has *transpired* about Lord Grey's visit, but the idea is that he has not succeeded to the fullest extent, & that only a few Peers will be made. Those who were at the Pavilion the last evening he was there observed that the *Queen* (who had never talk'd to him before) had been very gracious to him, & that both she & the *King* were in very good spirits. We think this looks *well*. There are some little things besides which we have heard, but I don't like to say everything I hear as the Post Office here has a bad character. . . .”

From Lady Wharncliffe to the Hon. Mrs. J. C. Talbot

“ BRIGHTON, Jan. 11, 1832.

“ . . . As soon as I was dressed (longing for some fresh air which I have not had for so long) I rush'd out, & walk'd up & down before the house till luncheon. It is, or rather *was* then, one of those days which is the triumph of Brighton, a S.W. wind, mild & fresh, flying clouds & sunshine, & a beautiful perturb'd, frothy sea.

¹ *The False Step and the Sisters*, published October 1831.

The only fault was *too* much wind, but I long'd to swallow it *all*. . . .

“ I will now tell you what you will be glad & a little surprised to hear ; namely that the Governor has this morning had a long tête à tête with H.M. . . . Several persons wish'd such an interview should take place on the report of the large creation of Peers, but he did not like to put himself forward for many reasons. . . . Last Sunday he met Sir H. Taylor on the Steyne, who seemed inclined to talk to him, so that they walk'd a long time together, & talked fully & confidentially upon the present state of things. He [the Governor] was much pleased with Sir H. Taylor's sentiments & manner, but of course he could only speak from himself. Since then the Governor has again been urged to request an audience, & you may be sure that *we all* have encouraged him to it as much as we could. He therefore wrote to Sir H. Taylor yesterday & was appointed this morning at $\frac{1}{2}$ past twelve. He came away much pleased, having spoken his opinion openly, & explained his own feelings & motives of conduct, referring the King also to the original paper he had drawn up for Lord Grey, & which he knew the King had seen. He told him it was impossible for him to pledge others, & he would not even pledge himself, & that it was unreasonable in Lord Grey to expect it ; but that he could assure H.M. that he— & he believed numbers of his friends—were ready to vote for the 2nd reading if they could obtain concessions upon the points not affecting the principle of the Bill. But that if strong measures were resorted to, to overpower the House of Lords [by the creation of Peers], he believed it would be most unfortunate & entirely change the feelings of *many* who were otherwise inclined to conciliation.

“ I wish I could tell you all the conversation for it was very satisfactory, inasmuch as the King received all he said *perfectly* well, & acquiesced in a great many things he said to him, tho' of course what was actually *en train*

with Ministers was not talk'd upon. The Governor's impression however was, & has been since Lord Grey was here, that no *large number* are going to be made at present.

"I cannot say how glad I am of this interview. If it does no good, at least he will feel he has done all in his power to effect some ; & I really think it was due to the *King*, as well as our party, to let him know their real sentiments & intentions as far as he was able. He also *touch'd up* the Press, & alluded to the ticklish state of Louis Philippe in consequence of the repeated attacks on the Constitution, & the prevalence of *democratic* principles. In short he seems to have given him a *wholesome lecture*, but so respectfully & earnestly that it was perfectly well received.

"I should have told you that the Governor's conversation with Sir H. Taylor, & subsequently the request for this audience, were communicated to Lord Grey, that there might be no *appearance* even of intrigue or double dealing. It is most fortunate at this moment that Sir H. Taylor & your Papa should be such old & intimate friends, & both so sure of the honesty and sincerity of each other's conduct ; and that he feels *like us*, tho' as he says, in *his* situation his mouth must be closed in general. . . .

"Tell Lord Talbot what I have written from the Governor, but the less it is talk'd of . . . the better, I think ; but it is difficult, as you know, to controul the Governor *himself*. . . . However we try. You will be amused to hear that when he went in to the King he met *our Duke* [of Devonshire] coming out ! He look'd surprised & *funny*, & has since met him walking & said to him, 'What mischief have you been about ?' & then desired he would go early to him this evening (we are going there to a little music) that he might *question* him. He talks of going away on friday, but I think he will stay a little longer. . . .

"I dont like the account of the Duke of Wellington tho' he is by the way of recovering. His death at this

moment would be too ominous & horrid. I put Gong¹ in a rage by telling him I could not write him news from here because he leaves one's *letters about*; & now he tells me I am punish'd, for that you send him mine to you! To be betray'd by one's own Child!!!!!"

From Sir H. Taylor to Lord Grey

"I saw Lord Wharncliffe as he left the King's room. I am confident from the little he said to me that H.M. had not committed himself, and from my knowledge of Lord Wharncliffe's honourable feeling, I am equally convinced that he would not seek to draw the King into the expression of an incautious word."

From Lady Wharncliffe to Lady Erne

"BRIGHTON, Jan. 15, 1832.

". . . I know you will be glad to hear that Lords Verulam & Salisbury came here this morning (the former to present the Hertfordshire address), & that both had an audience to-day. What is better, is that the Doge has since had a long talk with them, & says he found them very reasonable. The Governor has also seen Sir H. Taylor, who told him that the King has said, after his own interview with him, that he had been very much satisfied, & glad to have heard all he had to say; & then added, 'I like to talk to Lord Wharncliffe, he is a fine straightforward fellow. . . .'"

Writing to Mrs. J. C. Talbot on the same day Lady Wharncliffe says:

". . . The sun is now clouded over, but the sea is smooth, dark & beautiful, & the horizon clear & orange colour—dont you see it? The Governor had a letter from Jem this morning from Doncaster, by which your prophecy about Cholera is certainly verified, for he confirms the newspaper account of the *Vagrant* who died of it there, & yet talks of it as a subject rather of *curiosity*

¹ See Glossary, p. xiii.

than alarm on the spot. Every precaution was taken in the way of fumigating, burning cloaths, etc., & the poor wretch who died at ten o'clock, after a few hours illness, was, as Jem says, '*underground at four!*' It seems he was travelling from the North, & was taken ill a little way to the South out of Doncaster. There was a report here a few days ago that there had been a case at Shoreham from a Collier; but it has not been confirm'd & I dare say is a lie. . . .

"The Governor means to go up to Town I am afraid on wednesday so you will see him. . . . He is in better spirits about politics, & certainly his decided impression is that only a *few* Peers are to be made, & indeed such seems the general opinion amongst our acquaintances here. . . .

"I thought the King very absent & melancholy occasionally—probably the Bristol news adds to his other annoyances just now. He is of course shock'd like all of us at the tragical death of the unfortunate Colonel Brereton,¹ & feels that he has probably fallen a vietim to his *incapacity* in a most difficult & unexpected case, without being guilty of any want of courage or zeal. Poor man, how he must have suffer'd! The King was very kind to the Governor."

From Lady Wharncliffe to Lady Erne

"BRIGHTON, Jan. 18, 1832.

". . . Missy is very proud of her Papa just now, & thinks like me that a *really* independent line like his is the most respectable and *useful* that can be pursued in this country. I am sorry however to be obliged to own that *my* feeling for what she calls her '*dear country*' is sadly alter'd within the last few years, & I see none of

¹ After the Bristol riots, which took place at the end of October 1831, a court of enquiry had been instituted to investigate the conduct of Colonel Brereton who had commanded at Bristol. This Court decided that Colonel Brereton must be tried by court-martial. The charges brought against him were so grave that on the fifth day of the trial Colonel Brereton shot himself.

that moral superiority & good sense which once was supposed to be so natural to Englishmen. It seems to me that the upper classes desert their duty, & the *lower* classes are humbug'd by every Demagogue that harangues, or writes for them just as readily in England as anywhere else, & without the excuse even of former mis-government, or of ardent & volatile national character. I think an *English* radical the worst variety of an odious species, because he has no real grievance, & is a willing knave rather than a fool.

"I am so sorry to see by to-day's paper just arrived that poor Lord Ashley¹ has announced his intention of retiring, being totally unable to meet the expense of resisting the petition against his election. It is really too hard, especially after the immense sum he has already spent in it. . . ."

Lady Wharncliffe to the Hon. Mrs. J. C. Talbot

"BRIGHTON, Jan. 17, 1832.

". . . I am much more satisfied than I was as to the King's feelings upon public matters. If he errs it is from a false system he is going upon, and not *indifference*, & in some respects he acts very sensibly, & since I have seen him in this *little Court* I have a much higher notion of his kingly feelings. Without the dignity of person & air, I must say he has it in manner, & nothing can be better than the mixture of civility & good nature with royalty. I confess I was surprised at it, & am quite glad to see it. Nothing can be further removed from the manner of that *Monster*, a patriot *King*, yet nothing can be more *affable* as the maids say, & amiable. . . .

"Nothing can be more respectful than the manner of *the family* towards him, & if the Ladies did not call him *Papa*, it would be perfect. He himself calls his sons-in-law by their titles, & always addresses his Sister

¹ Anthony, 7th Earl of Shaftesbury, K.G. (1801–85), the eminent philanthropist. Succeeded to the earldom, 1851. Married, 1830, Lady Emily Cowper, daughter of 5th Earl Cowper.

as 'Princess Augusta'. I assure you I am quite agreeably surprised at the style of the thing altogether & feel *still* as if I was *at Court*, which I never expected to feel again. I have also been surprised to see how much his mind seems *préoccupé*, I am sure he is very much annoyed & dissatisfied with the state of things—but he can no longer extricate himself.

"I was glad yesterday to hear Mrs. Fitzherbert (with whom we dined) confirm my opinion, for the Governor rather doubted my suspicions. His absent fits & melancholy countenance at Commerce sometimes, from which he rouses and exerts himself to be gay & sociable, proved to me *at once* that he was *thinking* a great deal more than we gave him credit for; and a little conversation *I* had with him upon the subject of Hanover, which I will tell you when we meet, shew's how melancholy his view is *generally* of the state of nations. When the Governor in his interview was pointing to the state of France, & uncertain tenure of Louis Philippe, he said, with a melancholy tone, 'it is too true!—his crown hangs by a *thread*!' . . ."

The next two letters are from Lord Wharncliffe to Lady Wharncliffe:

"WHITE'S, *Wednesday, Jan. 18.*

"One line, Dearest Love, just to tell you what will, I think, give you pleasure. I have been told in a quarter that I can depend upon, that my conversations with Herbert Taylor, and with the King, have had their full effect, and that *no Peers* are to be made.

"This is enough for today. . . ."

"CURZON STREET, *Jan. 19, 1832.*

"I went to the Play yesterday in the Duke of Devonshire's Box, and was very much amused with it. It is both interesting and amusing. The men, I think, all acted well, but I am sorry to say that the prestige of Fanny's ¹ power of acting is dissipated with me. She knows very well what feeling is, but has not the power

¹ Fanny Kemble. See p. 29, Vol. II.

of expressing it. Her faces are constant, and she appears to be smelling some disagreeable smell. Her only way of shewing feeling is to curl up her nostrils still more, and to distort her body still more. After the play I went to Lady C. Grevilles to join in the congratulations upon the success of the play, where C. Kemble came also, with his wife and daughter. I then went to Harrowby's to talk over serious matters with him.

"This morning I have seen the Duke of Wellington, and have had a long conversation with him. There is no hope of any concession upon his part, and I see clearly that he is prepared, at all risks, to persist in throwing out the bill on the 2nd reading. It is quite clear therefore that those who are disposed to concede, and to endeavour to palliate what can't be cured, must take their line, and let it be known speedily that they mean to do so. It will then be seen whether there really is any thing like a number of persons willing to follow moderate councils.

"I am going to dine in Grosvenor Square today [at Lord Harrowby's], and so is Haddington. We shall discuss this matter."

The attitude of the Duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel towards reform was one of "no surrender". Writing on January 16 to Lord Exeter, the Duke says:

"I confess that, injurious as I think this supposed creation of Peers would be, I cannot think that it will tend more immediately to the destruction of the House of Lords than carrying the Reform Bill. If the Bill, or what is now called an equally efficient one, is carried, it is my opinion that there is an end to the constitution of government in this country."

From Lord Wharncliffe to Lady Wharncliffe

"Jan. 20th.

"I have nothing to tell you. I dined with Haddington at Harrowby's yesterday, and I think made progress

in persuading them both that we must, in the House of Lords, allow the bill to be read a second time. Today I dine with Dundas.¹ They arrived yesterday, and I have seen Mary who is quite well."

From Lady Wharncliffe to the Hon. Mrs. J. C. Talbot

"BRIGHTON, Tuesday.

"... You are *too severe* upon our poor King, & owing in great part I perceive to misunderstanding my meaning. 'Happy & gay' are expressions which nothing which one sees would justify, & when I said he was in good spirits I only meant it *comparatively*, for *before* I should certainly have described him as a person absent & low from some secret cause. But since Lord Grey's visit he has look'd relieved & been more cheerful; from this, & from the Queen's cheerfulness still more, *we here* concluded that the Premier had not obtain'd the object of his visit. I am quite persuaded the King is not a reformer, & that if he does wrong, it is from error in judgment as to his *duty*. . . . In short, tho' I don't think we are a bit safer than we were before, when the crisis arrives; I am convinced that it is by *mistaking* his duty, & not by choice that he will sign our death warrant & perhaps his own, if Lord Grey insists. This may be true, but it is no comfort you will say, which I agree to, & only wish to do the poor man justice as my opinion goes. . . .

"As to the Queen—Lady Beverley & I are both charm'd with her for being so very natural and good natur'd.

"You say nothing about the truth of the Duke of Portland's² letter to Lord Grey, but it seems to be

¹ The Right Hon. William Dundas, third son of Robert Dundas, of Arniston. Married, 1813, Mary Stuart Wortley, sister of 1st Baron Wharncliffe.

² In a former letter Lady Wharncliffe mentions a report that the Duke of Portland and eighteen other peers had written to Lord Grey, saying that if he created peers for the purpose of carrying the Reform Bill, they would all vote against it.

generally believed, as well as that many others have profess'd the same. Pray tell me all you hear. What a curious case it would be, if after creating some Peers they were to be beat after all by their own disgusted friends ! Such a thing is I suppose not quite impossible. *Our* Lords who threaten to desert the Committee if the Bill gets there, deserve to be flogg'd, & it is just like their narrow selfish policy. I am curious to see what the division will be on Thursday in the Lords.¹ People here talk of the Ministers being turn'd out—but what then ? Besides that is easier said than done. . . .”

Mr. George Stansfield to the Hon. James Stuart Wortley

“FIELD HOUSE, HALIFAX,
25 Jan. 1832.

“DEAR WORTLEY,

“You know that certain overtures have been made to a member of Lord Harewood's family respecting the representation of this town in the event of your Reform bill passing. To these overtures I did not in the first instance accede. But that is of no consequence ; it is sufficient that Lord Harewood objects, because he does not wish his son to be placed in opposition to Mr. Stocks and to expose himself to the Lord Chancellors animadversion, having before come into collision with him on that very ground. Now having spoken with several individuals of influence in this part, I find them very favourable to your being put in nomination. Supposing therefore that such a list could be obtained as would in all probability insure success, would you have any objection ?

“Believe me,

“Very faithfully yours,

“GEORGE STANSFIELD.”

¹ Lord Aberdeen's motion. This was about Belgium. Apropos of it Greville says : “They [the Tories] expect to beat the Government, not comprehending that a greater evil could not occur, or a better excuse be afforded them for an immediate creation” (Greville, vol. ii.).

From Lord Wharncliffe to Lady Wharncliffe

“HOUSE OF LORDS, *Tuesday*.

“ . . . I am sorry to say that I have heard from authority I do not doubt, that altho’ the King was checked by our conversations with him in the matter of the creation of Peers, he has now put himself entirely into the Hands of the Government upon that subject, and that unless something is done to satisfy the Government that they can carry the 2nd Reading, Peers will certainly be made.

“ In the mean time Aberdeen¹ is going to make a motion on Thursday about Holland, upon which he and the Opposition are quite cock a hoop, and think they can either beat or run the Government very hard. In either case, they will afford an additional argument to be used to the King for making the Peers. Pray tell Bristol this, and beg of him if he has not already done it, not to send his proxy. There never was anything so wild as the High Tories in their expectations.”

Speaking of the correspondence between Lord Wharncliffe and the Duke of Wellington, Sir Herbert Maxwell, in his *Life of the Duke*, says: “ Long, patiently and eloquently Lord Wharncliffe laboured to prevail on the Duke to listen to reason. His letters are truly statesmanlike and deserve careful perusal. His efforts were in vain. The Duke remained obdurate.”

From Lady Wharncliffe to the Hon. Mrs. J. C. Talbot

“ BRIGHTON, *Feb. 5, 1832*.

“ . . . The Governor got the Duke’s answer this morning, three large sheets. He is going to send a copy to Lord Harrowby, so I daresay you may see it if you like, but you should ask to see your Papa’s letter first.

¹ George, 4th Earl of Aberdeen, K.G. and K.T. (1784–1860). Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, 1828–30, and 1841–46. Secretary for War and the Colonies under Peel, 1834–35, and held various other diplomatic and ministerial offices.

He [the Duke] once more fully details his opinions and views, & says he acts *alone*, & wishes to leave others to do as they think right, but still considers the difficulty of voting for the 2nd reading, the same as he did before. In short it is just such a letter as I expected, & there is an end of any hope of change in his opinions. He will not of course pledge himself in any way about the committee should it take place. It is a thousand pities that he should not see that if he, of all the Tories, would join they must overpower the Government & model the Bill to what they like in the committee.

" . . . Your Papa is vex'd but not surprised at the Duke's letter, & has written him a short but friendly letter in answer, explaining *one* misapprehension of the Duke's, & regretting the very different view they have of the subject, &c.

" Here has been my Uncle, & he found Lord Sandon also. You would have enjoyed the animated debate upon the subject of the Duke's letter, which they read. My Uncle found great faults with it. He is himself *trying hard* to persuade himself that it would be right to vote for the 2nd reading. . . .

" Only think of Mrs. Fitzherbert coming here last night with the Damers to play at Whist. We had besides some of the de Ros's, & Lord Beverley & Margaret,¹ with which we made up a very good commerce party. . . . I hope it is not true that pretty Pembroke girl will really be disfigured by the smallpox, it would be too bad. . . ."

From Lady Wharncliffe to Lady Erne

" BRIGHTON, Feb. 10, 1832.

" . . . Our dinner at the Pavilion last Wednesday was very pleasant, particularly the evening, as we all got so at our ease at commerce that we grew quite *noisy*, and the King enjoyed it *much* & laughed heartily. The

¹ Lady Margaret Percy, daughter of 5th Duke of Northumberland. Married, 1841, Edward Richard Littleton, afterwards 2nd Baron Hatherton.

Beverleys & Lord Haddington were of our party, besides Princess Augusta, & William Ashley who is just come to do his duty ; & Lady Sophia Sidney,¹ who is very lively & pleasant. The Queen remain'd in the other room working, with the Falcks & one or two Ladies sitting round her table. The rest were either working at another table, or walking about. There was also a whist table in *our* room for Men.

“ Lord Haddington presented his address yesterday morning, & dined *again* with the King. He was much pleased with his audience which lasted nearly an hour. He spoke as frankly & firmly as the Governor had done, & was listen'd to with the same kindness. He told me the King talked a good deal himself & very sensibly. To be sure he has had a good dose of *Tory* sentiments since we came here, & certainly has shewn them all the civility & kindness in his power. . . .”

On February 7, 1832, Lord Wharncliffe had another long interview with Sir Herbert Taylor, who, in Lord Wharncliffe's presence, committed to paper the general substance of his communication. After submitting it to the King, Sir H. Taylor enclosed a copy to Lord Grey. The concluding sentence of Sir H. Taylor's letter to Lord Grey is as follows :

“ This communication has given the King great satisfaction, as offering a better prospect than any that has yet opened ; and His Majesty would eagerly hail any arrangement, consistent with the security of the Government, that would relieve him from the dreaded and most obnoxious proposal to add to the House of Lords.”

Lord Grey did not unfortunately take so favourable a view of Lord Wharncliffe's memorandum as the King. On February 10 he writes to Sir H. Taylor :

“ I wish I could see the latter in the satisfactory view which you appear to take of it. It seems to me to

¹ An illegitimate daughter of William IV. She married Sir Philip Charles Sidney, 2nd Baronet, afterwards created 1st Lord de L'Isle and Dudley.

amount to no more than that Lord Wharncliffe himself, and those with whom he is immediately connected, will vote for the second reading, without any statement of the numbers on which they can rely to support them, and without any assurance, beyond that of a confident hope, of their being able to carry even that question."

From Lady Wharncliffe to Lady Erne

"BRIGHTON, Feb. 17, 1832.

"... You will see by the papers that Lords Harrowby & Wharncliffe had a long interview with Lord Grey. I long to hear what pass'd, tho' I expect little I confess. However, we have heard by to-day's post that they were very well & courteously received, & on the whole came away tolerably satisfied with the *tone* of the conversation.

"I have quite determined to stay on another week from Monday with Georgy [wife of John Stuart Wortley], for my own sake as well as hers, & that the accounts from London of the cold & darkness & foggyness of the weather disgusts one—besides the *Cholera*, which is the universal subject of conversation in every house, must be a great bore & make every body gloomy; whereas here, we do not think much about it, & I live in hopes that in a week or ten days it will begin to subside again, & the alarm with it. . . .

"... The Queen was very good-natured about Georgy, and gave me a bottle of lotion to rub into her back twice a day which she used to use herself, & which is a German receipt. Is it not funny that *she* should have given Georgy something of the same strengthening kind as the plaister that old Charlotte gave to me! . . ."

From Lady Wharncliffe to the Hon. Mrs. J. C. Talbot

"BRIGHTON, Feb. 18, 1832.

"... I am very glad you have taken wise precautions against Cholera. If it increases, keep a phial

in your room, with 30 drops of laudanum, 30 drops of ether, & 30 drops of peppermint water in it, ready to *swallow* if you feel really ill. Ask Lady Beverley if I have written the quantities right, or Per¹—they told me of it, and had the prescription from somebody who had given it to several people (abroad) when first taken ill, with very good effect; en attendant the Doctor being sent for.

“*At last* I have succeeded in what I wish’d, which was getting better acquainted with the Queen. Yesterday the Beverleys and I were invited to a farewell dinner at the Palace, & really felt quite shy at going *again* without our *men*. Georgy however (who was ask’d) was not strong enough to go, which took off *one* woman out of five. When the King came in before dinner he said, ‘here I am again, amongst a parcel of widows!’ However he was all good humour, & really did not mind it. There was nobody besides ourselves but the Belhavens, whom I like very much. There was such a dearth of men that I had no *spark* to take me in to dinner, & sat next to Mdle d’Este on one side & Colonel Wood on the other (Lady Caroline Wood’s husband). . . . She [Lady C. Wood] is a *very* old friend of the King’s & of the Queen’s since she came to England. Last night as we were seated round the Queen’s table, the King join’d us after dinner, & I thought we should have no commerce, but the Queen proposed it for the King’s amusement; & I contrived to be left out that I might remain near the Queen. Lady Caroline Wood & one or two Ladies & myself form’d her party. I was delighted with her, she talk’d quite comfortably, & I got her on the subject of the *coronation*, & many other topics. I was charm’d with her good sense & good feeling in everything. When we went away she kiss’d Lady Beverley, Lady Belhaven & myself, & took leave of us in the kindest manner. . . .”

¹ See List of Nicknames, p. xiii.

From Lady Wharncliffe to Lady Erne

“ BRIGHTON, Feb. 21, 1832. ’

“ . . . We were, rather to my surprise, invited once more to the Palace yesterday, for there was nobody there but ourselves, & Mrs. Fitzherbert & four or five Naval or Military men. The *Doge* had to take the Queen in to dinner, & the King of course took *me*, but had the good taste and good feeling to give his *other* arm to Mrs. Fitzherbert. The Doge got on quite well with the Queen, & is grown quite fond of her, as I am. After dinner we had a lottery for a Baby house (for charity), & then we sat round the Queen’s table & talk’d as one would have done in any other country house. I am now quite at my ease with the Queen, & the more I know her the more I like & respect her, & perfectly understand the attachment of those about her. . . .”

“ BRIGHTON, Feb. 24, 1832.

“ . . . Our Babes went off this morning in a Coach, which Georgy had hired the whole inside for them. You have no idea how many people now convey their families in that way, & even go themselves. I own I shall be glad to hear of their safe arrival however, as I cannot help having a horror of the danger of a Stage Coach. They went away at eleven, & were to be landed at their own door by six—so that I hope they are by this time arrived. . . .”

CHAPTER XXIV

(1832)

Another interview with Lord Grey—He appears moderate and conciliatory—Duke of Rutland immovable—Decoration of Wharnccliffe House—John Talbot's success—Third Reading of Reform Bill in House of Commons—Lord Ellenborough's tribute to John Stuart Wortley—Second Reading in the Lords carried by nine—Lady Erne objects to term of "Waverers"—Majority in the Lords for postponement of Disfranchising Clauses—Grey asks for creation of Peers—The King refuses—Resignation of Grey—The Duke fails to form Ministry—The Lords abandon opposition—Third Reading carried in the Lords—Young lawyers' Address to the King—The Duke defends his conduct.

From Lord Wharnccliffe to Lady Wharnccliffe

"HOUSE OF LORDS,
"Thursday evening.

"I had some thoughts of being able to get down to-morrow, but shall not be able. Harrowby and I were with Lord Grey for an hour this morning; I did not intend to have gone, but Harrowby called upon me and said that he was so unwell that he did not feel himself equal to a conference of that sort, alone, and therefore begged of me to go with him. Lord Grey was very kind and open with us, and really appeared disposed to moderate and conciliatory courses. But he read us a letter from Sir Herbert Taylor written by command of the King, and with the permission to shew it to us, stating that we must not expect that he (Lord Grey) should forego the power which the King had placed at his disposal to ensure the passing of the measure, unless

he could be assured of sufficient support to pass the 2nd Reading.

“But this is a very long story, and I have very little time, so you must wait for it until I get down on Saturday. He gave us good hopes, I think, of our being able to make alterations in the Committee.”

From Lord Wharncliffe to Lady Wharncliffe

“HOUSE OF LORDS, March 1, 1832.

“... There is no news but our cause gains proselytes, I think, at which the High Tories, more especially, are greatly irritated. Ailesbury has declared himself explicitly to me. The Bishop of St. David's has done the same thing to Haddington. Bristol, poor fellow, is in a very unhappy state, but I fear he will end by being against us. There are good hopes of Grantham.”

From Lady Erne to Lady Wharncliffe

“March 6.

“Mr. Child did come on Sunday & brought the ginger'd barley sugar, which is the most *exquisite* & most *comfortable* thing I ever tasted. I thank you for having thought of me my dearest Car; & am sure it is particularly good for me, especially in this weather. . . .

“This has been a very *rich* day for me in the article of letters. Besides yours I have one from Georgy, with a comfortable account of her nursery, which always does me good, as well as a tolerable one of herself. . . . I must say my grandchildren do behave beautifully to me, & my grandchildren-in-law also. I have a very amiable letter from Emmeline, in one equally so from dear Charles. Emmeline says he is very eager on the subject of his brother's politicks & proceedings, & would fain make impression on his Father-in-law [the Duke of Rutland], but the latter is immoveable in his determination to oppose the second reading, which he

says he would do if he stood single. She herself is entirely with Charles, like a good wife. . . .

“Charles bemoans the being so near the conclusion of the hunting season, and says, ‘the nasty stinking violets are coming up everywhere, & spoiling the scent’. The expression amused me much—so like him !”

From the Hon. James Stuart Wortley to Lady Wharncliffe

“LANCASTER, March 5, 1832.

“ . . . We expect to be here for a fortnight, & then away for York : I can expect nothing here, but at York I may have something to do. I am still not quite reconciled to the vote for the second reading. I feel so little confidence in the King that I am sure the Peers will be made on the first difficulty in Committee, with the additional mischief of a permanent rupture between the two divisions of the Tory party. However I trust I may be wrong.

“I wish such discussions as that of last Friday¹ could be avoided ; they are new in the House of Lords, & do infinite mischief. Their repetition must increase the growing aversion to the Aristocracy. Caroline ought not to have gone by *Coach*.”

In the midst of the excitement about the Reform Bill the Wharncliffes were busy with alterations and renovations to No. 15 Curzon Street, known later as Wharncliffe House.

On March 9 Lady Erne, whose infirmities had evidently grown very much upon her, writes from Hampton Court to her daughter :

“ . . . If I can get into a favorable state, I will do as you propose, & drive in some morning. I am longing

¹ On March 2, 1832, an acrimonious dispute took place in the House of Lords between the Marquis of Londonderry and the Lord Chancellor of Ireland, Lord Plunket, the former accusing the latter of deriving large emoluments from his position, his family possessing no less than twenty-two places, the annual salaries of which amounted to £36,000. Lord Plunket in reply said he would not stoop to refute so extravagant a falsehood. In the end Lord Londonderry apologised.

as you may suppose to see you all & the Doge in his 'extasies' with his house. I cannot quite make up my mind to the white walls with the pictures: yet I am quite aware of the advantages you mention, but *must* I bear with the loss of that very pretty burnt cream color in Caroline's sitting room? . . ."

To which Lady Wharncliffe answers:

"CURZON STREET, March 9, 1832.

" . . . I am sure you will be consoled for the loss of your *burnt cream* when you see the *fresh* cream, looking so clean & light, & the pictures looking so well upon it. The difference in the light at the end of the drawing room in the morning is not to be told. But I hope you will not drive into Town to-morrow, for the two little rooms are all unfurnish'd . . . and the drawing room is not yet done. . . ."

From Lady Erne to Lady Wharncliffe

"March 10, 1832.

" . . . You make a very good *plaidoyer* for your creamy white, & I shall very likely be as much in love with it as the Doge when I come to see all its advantages. . . .

"The cholera I see makes very small progress, but still, it does progress, & sometimes I feel a little scruple about taking my servant to Town, where he may possibly fall upon a lodging that is not quite safe. However I shall speak to him about it, & learn in what street is the one to which he usually goes. . . ."

From the Hon. James Stuart Wortley to Lord Wharncliffe

"LANCASTER, March 11, 1832.

" . . . With respect to the state of politics, & the line which you have taken, whatever may have been my impression upon the subject, all confidence in my own opinion has been shaken by the decision & apparent satisfaction with which you & Lord Harrowby appear to

act : at best mine is but an impression, for I am happy to say that other things occupy my mind sufficiently to leave very little time for reflection upon this, & I have little doubt but that if I had thought as much, or half as much, upon the subject as you have, I should have been led to the same conclusion : the truth is that it is so inextricable a dilemma that there is no escape without sacrifice & humiliation. . . .”

From Lady Erne to Lady Wharncliffe

“ March 18, 1832.

“ . . . The cholera you see has got to Brentford ; that is, to within 6 or 7 miles of this Place, but neither my servants nor I feel alarm’d. They are well fed, kept sufficiently warm, & are become quite aware of the advantage of *cleanliness & ventilation*. adieu, adieu dearest. I must soon drive into Town in order to get some *cloaths to my back*, & to see what *funds* I have at my Bankers to pay for them of course. . . .”

In a letter from Belvoir on March 19 Charles Stuart Wortley explains the attitude of the Duke of Rutland towards the Reform Bill—the attitude no doubt of most of the ultra-Tory peers :

“ The Duke told me this morning he had received a letter from you about supporting my Father in Committee. I am afraid there is very little chance of it, if he remains in the same mind as now. He is as obstinate as possible, and seems more inclined to support the bill altogether for passing the 2d reading than help the opposition after they have allowed it to go into Committee. This in my opinion will be most absurd conduct, & I told him this morning he would be the best friend the radicals have if he pursues such conduct. In point of fact it is a sort of feeling of revenge against those who yield the 2d reading for not sticking to the Ultra Tory party. I trust the Duke of Wellington will

not follow his example, & if not, he may be persuaded by him to act differently. . . .”

From Lady Erne to Lady Wharncliffe

“HAMPTON COURT PALACE,

“April 5, 1832.

“ . . . Lady Liverpool¹ called on me yesterday. She is looking, I am sorry to say, very ill, & very much older. It is many months since we have met, but her kind & affectionate feelings towards me have remained unalter'd, & my own towards Her must always remain the same. She is a Person of more than ordinary merit, & has been & still is put to more than ordinary trial. . . .

“Gong's² success gives me very great pleasure: I rejoice, & hope, with you & his Wife. . . . I trust there is every likelihood of our Jem doing as well. I could *die* of the idea of Him in his wig, & gravely *my Lording* his Father. How they keep their countenances I cannot imagine. . . .”

On March 22 the Reform Bill was read a third time in the House of Commons, and finally, on March 23, passed that House without a division. It was introduced into the House of Lords on March 26. Lords Harrowby and Wharncliffe were working strenuously to induce both peers and bishops to accept the Bill. Unfortunately the Die-hards were working as strenuously as the Waverers. Every individual voter was canvassed by both sides.

As the fateful day approached tension and excitement increased to fever pitch.

Lady Erne to Lady Wharncliffe

“HAMPTON COURT PALACE,

“April 7, 1832.

“Most assuredly, dearest Caroline, the Charles's coming to you *is* what I should have wish'd, even had it interfered with any dispositions of my own. I thank

¹ See p. 142, Vol. I.

² See List of Nicknames, p. xiii.

you very much for the kind manner in which you express yourself on the subject. The next week I really should have had no desire to be in Town. It will be one of such intense interest and anxiety, that the agitation I cannot but feel had best be pass'd in this retirement. May God prosper the efforts of our Friends & their associates, & save the Country from some at least of the threatened Evils. . . .

"God bless you my dear Car : I shall depend on you & your Caroline for little *bulletins* next week—but no long letters. . . ."

From Lady Wharncliffe to Lady Erne

"CURZON STREET, Monday, April 9.

". . . The Doge is in pretty good spirits, & looks the better for his journey to the North. The Charles's arrived Saturday evening in great force, but dined yesterday at Mr. Drummonds,¹ to meet the Jermyns & the Duke of Rutland who had also just arrived. The former are living at Putney & came up on purpose.

"I am furious at having been obliged to give up going to the House of Lords to-day, but as I was told I should not get a place (now they are limited to few) unless I went *before 12 o'clock*, I had not courage to sit waiting five or six hours ! Lady Harrowby however is bold enough to engage in it ! . . ."

On Monday, April 9, the second reading debate took place in the House of Lords. It must have been indeed an anxious moment for Lord Grey, who, against the opinion of many of his Cabinet, had stood out against the creation of peers. It was equally anxious, too, for Lord Wharncliffe and those who were with him. Like all who intervene in a quarrel, they were liable to buffets from both sides.

¹ Andrew Robert Drummond, of Cadland, near Southampton. Married, 1821, Lady Elizabeth Manners, daughter of 5th Duke of Rutland. She died 1886.

From Lady Wharncliffe to Lady Erne

“CURZON STREET, April 10, 1832.

“The first act of the piece is over dearest Mama, & satisfactorily. Lord Grey was very moderate and conciliatory, & his speech was well received, & even our Ultras could only say it was *dull*. Lord Ellenborough made a capital one, & as you see paid John a very pretty little compliment in his defence of rotten Boroughs; but we are almost afraid that his defence of them was *so* good, as to set up the Tories still more, & decide some votes *against* us upon the wild notion still of throwing out the Bill. Lord Haddington also spoke well, & *ought* I think to have convinced the *real waverers* of the wisdom of the course he & his friends are taking. Lord Harrowby was too unwell to like to speak, & the Governor felt hardly prepared, having been absent so long & his thoughts filled with other subjects, so they poked up poor Lord Haddington, who is also far from well. To-night probably both the others will speak. It is supposed that the debate will only last three nights. The night of the division will really be a very nervous one, with such unsteady, cowardly troops as ours. . . .”

The compliment which Lord Ellenborough paid to John Stuart Wortley was indeed a pretty one. Speaking of the disfranchisement of the nomination boroughs, he said, “By the present Bill, forty persons of standing in this situation would be excluded from the House of Commons, and amongst them Lords Lowther, Mahon, Stormont and Porchester, and Mr. Stuart Wortley. The last-named individual served some time with him in office, and he knew hardly any disadvantage which could befall the country greater than that of excluding such a man as he was from a situation in which he might employ his great talents in the public service.”

Lord Ellenborough had been President of the Board of Control, 1828–30, in the Cabinet of the Duke of Wellington. From February 1830 to November 1830 John Stuart Wortley was Parliamentary Secretary in the same Department.

From Lady Wharncliffe to Lady Erne

"CURZON STREET, April 11, 1832.

"Think of my luck last night in getting into the House of Lords and hearing *all* the people that were most interesting. Our feelings during it all were however anything but pleasant, divided from our old friends, & cheer'd by our enemies! So different from last year. The only comfort was that we felt confirm'd in the belief that the line we have adopted is the safest & best. Lord Mansfield¹ made a most excellent & beautiful speech, & with the assistance of a good voice & good delivery; it was dignified too, & perfectly temperate. Lord Harrowby spoke well & made a good case, but much more weakly as to effect than before.

"The Governor was as stout as a lion, & roar'd with eagerness, but not with temper, & made a capital defence for himself & friends generally. *The Duke's* speech² was rather good & animated at first, but he got bother'd & talked *nonsense* towards the end. Altogether it was a very interesting debate, & I shall not go again to-night as I don't care to hear any body else, & should be too anxious & nervous at the division, which is expected to-night, & I hope will take place & put us out of our pain. I fear it will be very small, & so increase our difficulties in the Committee. . . ."

"CURZON STREET, April 12.

"You will see with some surprise I dare say dearest Mama that my Uncle [Lord Bristol] made a speech last night. I had no idea he intended it, & should feel very sorry not to have been there but that I think I should have felt *nervous*, & that the Duke tells me that unfortunately he was hardly heard except by those

¹ This was the 3rd Earl (1777-1840).

² The Duke of Wellington followed Lord Harrowby in the debate, dissenting "with deep concern and pain" from the advice given to the House by Lord Harrowby.

who were near him. *He* was close to him & says he spoke *beautifully*, both as to the matter & the language. This is no more than I should have expected. But what I was very glad to hear was that he was not violently excited or nervous, & only spoke with great feeling & *earnestness*.

"The Governor says the Bishop of Exeter's speech¹ was capital. I fear the majority will after all be very small—and then! . . .

"I ought to have said that sorry as we are not to have my Uncle's vote, we never had much hopes of it, & that feeling as he does upon the subject, & *still incredulous* as to the making Peers, his line is very intelligible.

"The Granvilles arrived from Paris yesterday. Missy has been to see them all this morning on foot, & I am going there after dinner. . . ."

The fateful division took place in the House of Lords on the morning of April 14 after the sun had risen. The second reading of the Third Reform Bill was carried in the Lords by a majority of nine, Lord Wharncliffe both speaking and voting for the Bill. As the Bill of 1831 had been lost by a majority of 41, it must be acknowledged that the measure had made considerable progress. Nevertheless the result could not be considered to bring much satisfaction to either party. The Ministry could have no chance of carrying the measure through Committee without creating new peers, and to the creation of new peers the King had a profound distaste.

From Lady Wharncliffe to Lady Erne

"CURZON STREET, April 14, 1832.

"The Governor is very much pleased with last night's division, which he had begun to fear might not be more than five or six. He is also quite satisfied with Lord Grey's speech, which he says was even stronger than as given in the *Times*, & certainly gives

¹ This was Dr. Philpotts, whose speech was strongly against the Bill.

every reason to believe that he will allow great alterations in Committee. It is droll enough that we dine at the Clanricarde's to-day, where we shall meet the *Greys*. It will be rather curious to see their faces. . . .

"At seven A.M. the Governor came in & told me the division. . . ."

From Lady Erne to Lady Wharncliffe

"April 15, 1832.

"You have been a most good Daughter this week, & I thank you for it very much. I can say little more than this, for I am utterly incapable of entering at all into the subject so intensely interesting to us both, in consequence of the great *discomfort in my physique* under which I have these last two days been laboring, & had better therefore stop short, without attempting more than the expression of gladness that the Doge is well satisfied with the Division of Friday night. Besides, I am now *bother'd* & *bewilder'd* with the state of things. I thought the Division I was to wish for was one so small that it should be made evident Government could not possibly have carried their measures without the overwhelming creation of Peers; & that our Friends (the *real* Conservatives) had all the merit of saving the Country from that outrageous act of desperation. By the bye, I am very indignant at the new term of Waverers for Them, which is surely quite misapplied.

"But I must stop, & bid you good night dearest Caroline. . . ."

The next three letters are from Lady Wharncliffe to Lady Erne:

"CURZON STREET, April 16, 1832.

". . . Why do you mind the term *waverers* which is only given to them by *angry* Tories & ultra Whigs. I assure you they are more than ever satisfied with the course they have taken, & are beginning to see the good effects already in the soften'd tone of the Whigs,

& the *hatred* of the Ultra Tories ; tho' I heard of one yesterday who confess'd that he believed *our* course was the *wise & prudent* one, & theirs the Chivalrous. This is the *real* truth. If the majority had been smaller there might still have been an excuse for making Peers before the 3d Reading. . . ."

"CURZON STREET, April 28, 1832.

"The Doge arrived about ten o'clock last night in great force, & looking *fatter*. He has this morning been having a meeting (at Lord Palmerston's) with Lord Grey & the Chancellor at the *Premier's request*, from which he is returned very well satisfied with the *tone* of the conversation & disposition to *conciliate*. He had *previously* had an interview with Lyndhurst, who had sent to him for the purpose of telling him that the *Duke of Wellington* could not possibly object to the meeting with Lord Grey (which the Doge had thought it right to have mention'd to the Duke some time back), but only begged it might be clearly understood that it was not by *his* desire, or that *he* was in any way whatever a party to the step. This is quite fair. But I have heard from good authority, more than once, that the Duke declares he shall constantly attend the Committee, not as a Tory, but as a member of Parliament, in the sincere wish of making the best of the Bill, so as to be able to give it his vote if possible. This is honest strait forward conduct, & very like *him*.

" ' *take no notice* ' of my little news. . . ."

"CURZON STREET, May 5, 1832.

" . . . The Doge has got a *sailing Boat* with which he sail'd up to Broom House yesterday [from the H. of Lords], & back, & was delighted ; & he means to do the same thing as often as he has an opportunity. I dare say it will be very good for him, as it is an amusement as well as a quiet way of being in the air.

"There is to be a *Tory* meeting here this evening whilst I am at the Opera. I wish they may come to

any *tolerable* agreement before they begin acting on Monday. It is a nervous moment. . . .

"Missy told you of my going to the Drawing room, & I hope added my flattering reception. . . . We had our first party at Devonshire House last night, & very good it was, because not too full. But unluckily neither Lady Granville nor *Dody* were well enough to appear. Susan however was in great force & very much improved in looks by being grown thinner. We went early, & I went & sat an hour with Lady Granville, who was in very good spirits & much better, but quite unfit for hot rooms or fatigue of any kind. . . .

"I intend to go to the House of Lords on Monday if I can get in at a reasonable hour. I have said nothing about it, as I want it not to be put into other people's heads. . . .

"The Cholera is much decreased in Paris—but poor Péri¹ I fear *must* die."

The measure, the second reading of which the Waverers had saved by so narrow a margin, was once more in danger. Many of the Tory party, who had reluctantly voted for the Bill or had abstained from voting at all, felt that the moment was come for them to assert themselves. They decided to propose the postponement of the two first clauses dealing with disfranchisement.

Lord Wharncliffe warned the Government of this decision, and on April 28, in spite of the disapproval of the Duke of Wellington, a meeting took place between Lord Grey and Lord Wharncliffe, Palmerston and Brougham being present. Nothing effective could be done. Once more the ultra-Tories were out of hand. This was the end of negotiation between the parties.

On May 7 Lord Lyndhurst moved the postponement of the disfranchising clauses, probably the most popular clauses in the Bill. The motion was carried by 35, the Waverers voting with the ultra-Tories. On May 8 the Cabinet asked

¹ Casimir Péri^{er}, Prime Minister of France, died of cholera, May 16, 1832.

the King to create sufficient peers to pass the measure, or, failing this, to accept their resignation. The King's reply on May 9 was to accept the resignation of Ministers.

From Lady Wharncliffe to Lady Erne

"CURZON STREET, May 9, 1832.

" . . . Meantime we *breathe*, & do the King ample justice for his stoutness in *refusing to make Peers* on the present occasion, & for accepting the resignation of the Ministers. Nothing further is known or likely to be even decided till to-morrow. There was a report this morning that the King had sent to Lord Harrowby ; but it *is not true*, & of course he would not accept. . . ."

On the resignation of Lord Grey's Ministry, the King sent for Lord Lyndhurst and asked him his advice. This was, that he should send for a Minister who would be prepared for a moderate measure of reform. Lord Lyndhurst approached the Duke of Wellington, who, in spite of his deep-rooted aversion to reform, consented to try and form an administration in order that the King's Government might be carried on.

Peel refused to have anything to do with a measure to which, up to the last moment, he had been inveterately opposed. It soon became evident that the Duke had attempted the impossible. The whole episode ended in the return of Lord Grey and a triumph for the Whigs.

From Lady Wharncliffe to Lady Erne

"Thursday, May 10, 1832.

"Nothing is yet known as to the new Ministers dearest Mama, but it is very curious & very satisfactory to see & hear of the *perfect* quiet of the Town ; & we have even heard of some tradespeople who talk of the change of Ministry with perfect indifference, being very *glad* that the King did not create Peers, & feeling that they are quite sure of having a sufficient measure of reform now, whoever comes in.

"Meantime the King has shewn that he *can* resist,

& I have no doubt will be the more respected in the country generally. We cannot make out whether Lord Lyndhurst is gone to Windsor or not. The Duke of Wellington was *not* at 4 o'clock this evening. To-morrow they say we shall know all. If it is early enough I will drive out & tell you. . . .

"Good night dearest Mama. One thinks of nothing just now but the events of the *Moment*. The Governor is in good spirits. We hear the City is quite quiet! How odd!! . . .

From Lady Wharncliffe to Lady Erne

"Friday, May 11, 1832.

"As nothing whatever has yet transpired, I shall defer my journey till to-morrow. All that is certain is that Lord Lyndhurst *was* with the King, & has since been with the Duke of Wellington, & Peel, & Lord Aberdeen; & that the King comes to Town this morning. If the Duke & Peel desert the King at this moment it would be too bad, & therefore I hope it is unlikely. If I hear anything in time for the evening post I will write a line. At all events I mean to be with you to-morrow in the course of the day. Adieu dearest Mama. Here is a wholesome N.W. wind.

"I hear Peel said in *private* that he was determined to stand by the King to the last. I hope this is true—it looks well.

"This Town is *perfectly* quiet, & the *City* also."

From Lady Wharncliffe to Lady Erne

"CURZON STREET, May 13, 1832.

"I had nothing to tell you except what was in the evening papers, namely that the Duke had *kiss'd hands*. I am sorry to say that up to the present time nobody else is named. Of course many reports are abroad. But Peel's resistance is fatal to the arrangements, & if he does not yield at last, I really think he will be

unpardonable ; unless others do, who are now waiting upon him. They say this evening that the only person who *has* accepted is Mr. Baring.

“ Missy & I went to the Chapel Royal this morning, where to our surprise we saw the King & Queen, &c. It put me in mind of the better times of my youth ! I hear that when they came to Town yesterday, there were not fifty people at the entrance of the Park, of which some began by *hissing*, upon which the others cheer’d. Afterwards, when the Duke went in state to kiss hands, there were a few people at the Palace who *cheer’d* him, & a friend of mine heard a man say, ‘ there goes the *old one* ! he’ll do better than them *fresh ones* after all ! ’

“ By the bye there is one other thing I forgot to mention, which is that when the Birmingham Union petition came, the King returned for answer that he knew of *no such recognised body* in the State. They say this was really *his own* act, & certainly does him great credit. I long to have all settled. . . . ”

Although not only the King, but also the Duke of Wellington and most of the ultra-Tories, had by now faced the absolute necessity of passing the Bill, and of passing it practically without alterations, the public could not realise their change of front. The Radical, Place, and his satellites were busy organising revolution ; the country was in a state of ferment. The King and Queen drove into London from Windsor through a hissing crowd.

On Monday, May 14, Lord Ebrington, referring to the taking of office by the Duke of Wellington in order to pass the Reform Bill, declared that though he would support the measure by whomsoever proposed, he considered such conduct to be an act of gross public immorality. The speeches that followed were bitter and violent beyond belief. At last Baring in desperation suggested that the Whigs should remain in office to pass the Bill without creating peers. Several of the Tories agreed that if the Bill were to pass at all, it had better be passed by its friends.

The Duke of Wellington, finding himself without support

in the House of Commons, abandoned the attempt to form a Government. Though announcing that he himself should abstain from voting as an individual peer, as a party leader he refused to call off the opposition. The issue was still in doubt.

On May 18, impelled by the fear of revolution, the King once more authorised Lord Grey to create peers to such an extent as should be necessary to carry the Bill. The Tory Lords, seeing that the case was hopeless, finally abandoned their opposition, and on June 4 the third reading of the Reform Bill was carried by 106 to 22. On June 7 it received the Royal Assent.

From Lady Wharncliffe to Lady Erne

“CURZON STREET,
“Monday, May 14, 1832.

“ . . . The Duke did not go down to the House of Lords to-day. Lord Carnarvon said a few words to acquaint the House that the Administration not being yet *completed*, the Committee must be postponed till *Thursday*. Peel is out of the question, & so is Croker (but it seems nobody wishes for *him*). The new people named in the House of Commons (for the Lords are in no difficulty) are Mr. Baring, Mr. Wynn, Sir G. Murray & the present Speaker. But nobody knows anything.

“ I am happy to tell you that a great meeting which took place to-day at the Regent’s Park, & at which Hume & one or two other *gentlemen radicals* were present, was a complete failure. Arthur & Charles Hervey went there & got amongst the people, & they say they were quite surprised at the want of excitement & eagerness amongst them. There were not above 3 or 4000 assembled, & generally quiet & goodhumour’d. Numbers were quietly drinking & laughing in public houses, & others walk’d away after they had heard a speech or two. In short nothing could be more *flat*. There was a little mob near the House of Lords, but only on the *sides* of the street, & they did nothing more than *hiss*

& *groan* a little at two or three most obnoxious persons, but *no* violence.

“Jem & a few more young lawyers have got up an address to the King, thanking him for his firmness in refusing to create Peers, & expressing their attachment to him & confidence in him & his Government. Jem says it will be very numerously & respectably signed by the Lawyers. . . .”

From Lady Wharncliffe to Lady Erne

“CURZON STREET, May 17, 1832.

“It is now $\frac{1}{2}$ past ten dearest Mama so I have neither time nor strength to write more than a line. . . .

“We have been *all day* at the House of Lords, having gone down in the expectation of hearing the final arrangements of the Government. But lo, nothing yet is settled. The King still holds out, & has intimated that he wishes the Tories should save him (poor man!) from the necessity of making Peers by absenting themselves from the Committee. This was not said *openly*, but I have heard it privately.

“The House was very full, and *the Duke* began the debate by getting up to defend his conduct. He gave a full account of the whole affair since the day the King sent for him, & at last declared that if he had refused to try & form an administration when his sovereign was so situated he confess’d that he should have been ashamed to shew his face in the street. Nothing could be finer or more touching than his speech, & he was well seconded & defended by all shades of party on our side. Lord Mansfield, Lord Winchelsea, Lord Had-dington gave him the most unequivocal praise, which from *them* was greater than from any *friend*. The debate ended at about nine o’clock, & he left us just where we were, Lord Grey saying that *nothing* was settled, & that he could not undertake the resumption of the situation he held before, without a *certainty* of being able to carry the Bill in all its essential principles. The House meets

again to-morrow, & then I suppose our fate will be decided.

“ I am delighted with your letter this evening dearest Mama in spite of bad nights & politics. We must console ourselves with the belief that we shall at least be revolutionised without violence & perhaps not *sensibly* to our feelings. . . .”

From Lady Wharncliffe to Lady Erne

“ CURZON STREET,
“ *Friday night, May 18, 1832.*

“ . . . We have had another very interesting debate in the House of Lords, when Lord Grey announced that he continued to be H. Majesty’s Minister, & that having now ‘the expectation of carrying the Bill, without alteration affecting its principles, he should move that the Committee resume its operations next Monday’.

“ Mean time we are going to the *Queen’s Ball* ! What a curious state of things ! . . .”

From Lady Wharncliffe to Lady Erne

“ CURZON STREET, *May 29, 1832.*

“ . . . You will be happy to hear that yesterday was the fullest Drawing room I ever saw. It was a fine day & plenty of people in the streets, but all was perfectly quiet, & the people in general were well dress’d & looked goodhumour’d. In the evening the illuminations were beautiful, & I am told the streets so *immensely* crowded that carriages could hardly get along ; yet every thing was perfectly quiet & peaceable. I cannot but think this a good sign, & that we are still a good deal more *loyal* than we thought. If so, when the intoxication of the moment is past, the *good sense* (so much talk’d of) will really shew itself & bring us right again.

“ I never suffer’d so much from fatigue as I did yesterday, having been upon my legs for three hours,

& part of the time dying of *heat* ! When we came away at $\frac{1}{2}$ past five, the carriages were still waiting, even as far away as Jermyn Street. . . .”

The passing of the great Reform Bill must have brought to Lord Wharncliffe a strange mixture of feelings. In his heart he was a Tory of the old school. Nevertheless, he had had vision enough to understand the signs of the times, and to accept the inevitable. But for him and Lord Harrowby there must have been a disastrous conflict between the Houses of Lords and Commons, ending either in the creation of a large number of peers—a measure altogether unconstitutional and undesirable—or in very serious rioting—possibly even revolution.

CHAPTER XXV

(1832)

James Stuart Wortley's first speech—Dr. Wellesley at Durham—French Royal Family at Holyrood—The new Travellers' Club—The quarrel between Holland and Belgium—England supports Belgium—The Navy indignant—First General Election after Reform Bill—Lord Morpeth chaffs Lady Wharncliffe—The Gram-pound business: amended version—James loses Halifax Election—John Talbot deplores state of the Bar—Riots at Sheffield—Whig triumph.

THE letters of the second half of 1832, if not much concerned with politics, are interesting from a family point of view. James Stuart Wortley, the younger (now just twenty-seven), stands for Halifax and is beaten. His speeches—the first ever made by him in public—are commented on by members of his family. His elder brother, John, dispossessed by the Reform Bill of his seat at Bossiney, gives him sage advice.

“Your speech . . . proves you to have met the occasion with much ability and self possession. . . . Only take care not to be seduced into using stronger language than you would yourself approve, even though it should gain a few votes, for I know it is very difficult to avoid; but depend upon it, it is followed by inconvenience far greater than the object is worth.”

His grandmother thinks his speeches “quite admirable under every view, and extraordinary for a first début”. His father, the experienced parliamentarian, says:

“I have been so long in the habit of attending to

Public speaking, that I may perhaps flatter myself that I am become a judge of speeches, and at all events I am become very fastidious in that respect. I tell you fairly then that that speech has satisfied me that you have the power of speaking beyond a great majority of those who attempt to do so, nay, that it is such a speech as may fairly hold out a prospect of future fame and character as a speaker. . . .”

He goes on to beg him not to neglect the law for politics :

“ Bad and precarious as the trade of a politician has always been, it has now become ten hundred times worse than ever, and holds out to a younger brother now nothing but Poverty and disappointment. Let me beseech of you then, my dear Boy, not to make shipwreck of your prospects upon that rock. . . .”

His mother's enthusiasm is great, but not so great as that of Dr. Stuart Corbet, his cousin and pastor. He says, after reading the *Leeds Intelligencer* :

“ I have lost all intention of sending it on, I shall keep it as long as I live. I am quite in extasies with your speech at the dinner ; if you delivered it, as I trust you did, without suffering your excitement to get the better of your self possession, you are certainly an eloquent man. . . .”

With much more in the same strain. Such a letter from a man much older than himself, and a Doctor of Divinity into the bargain, must indeed have been intoxicating.

Perhaps the most typical of the time is the comment of his brother Charles, known in the family as the Cornet :

“ I congratulate you with all my heart on your successful canvass. . . . Your speech at the dinner really was remarkably clever and well done. . . . I [am] happy to see that you grapple well with the Ladies. There is nothing like them to pull you through. Sing to them and talk to them plentifully, and you are sure

to succeed. I am afraid tho' you talk in your speech of their beauty at Halifax, they have not much to boast of, at least if they are at all like the *Ladies* at Sheffield. . . ."

On July 29 James Stuart Wortley, on circuit in the North, writes from Durham :

" . . . Dr. Wellesley [brother of the Duke of Wellington] has most kindly taken me in, & insists upon my claiming my bed here always for the future, whether he is here or not. This is an immense comfort as I am most capitally lodged, & in a nice quiet airy square at the top of the Town & close to the Cathedral, instead of being in a miserable stuffy, dirty & expensive lodging in some narrow street in the middle of the Town; & as I really believe that my being here is no inconvenience, I shall not scruple to avail myself of the Doctor's very kind offer. Doctor Wellesley is here quite alone, his family being at his living of Bishop Wearmouth. . . .

"I have of course nothing to tell you from here, & you will hear from my Father how my affairs are prospering at Halifax. I am happy to say they go on de mieux en mieux, & it must be by some strange reverse if I am disappointed.

"I have been a little shocked at the actual announcement of Maria Copley's¹ marriage, & have not yet quite made up my mind to be glad of it: he is so ugly & deformed, & has such an ugly temper, that I think poor girl she is taking a very questionable step. However it is a great match, & such a pied à terre is of immense importance both to her & her sister. . . ."

On August 7 there is a letter from Henry Greville, the brother of Charles Greville, the diarist. Evidently a beautiful dancer was as much appreciated then as now.

¹ Daughter of Sir Joseph Copley, Bart. Married, 1832, Henry George, Lord Howick, who succeeded in 1845 as 3rd Earl Grey.

" . . . I have little to tell you of this world. Taglioni¹ left us last night for the Spheres I should have thought, had I not known a post chaise & four conveyed her to Dover, a vehicle in which I believe those regions (from which she never should have descended) are not visited. She was really more exquisite than ever. I suppose from its being her last night she took pains, & it was not lost upon the audience who were out of their senses with enthusiasm, & made the house (crammed to the roof) ring to the very echo. I do think there never was anything the least like her. She acted so well that I thought I should have blubbered. I am quite sure I could see the Sylphide to the end of a long life without stopping.

"The wedding went off beautifully. Lady Sydney² looked exquisite, and by the whiteness of her skin put to shame the lace which enveloped her. They are mooning at Frognal.

"The Duke of Devonshire was at the play last night, & I am going to see him now. So was the Duke of Wellington, who on coming out was immensely cheered (in the street) by the pit, who rushed after him & really made a great row.

"Think of poor ——'s Sister having died of the Cholera in 6 hours. They say the Camp at Windsor is to be put off on account of the Cholera being bad amongst the Troops. . . ."

In August Lord and Lady Wharncliffe go to Scotland to visit their property at Belmont. On the way they stay at Ravensworth Castle, which Lady Wharncliffe describes as "really beautiful (in Queen Elizabeth's style) as well as comfortable. . . ."

From Ravensworth they go to Edinburgh by way of

¹ Maria Taglioni (1804–84), daughter of Italian ballet-master at Stockholm. Created furore in Paris, Berlin and London. Married Comte de Voisins, 1832.

² Lady Emily Paget, daughter of 1st Marquess of Anglesey. Married, August 4, 1832, John, Earl Sydney, K.G. She died, 1893, aged 83.

Arniston [the Dundas's]. At that time Charles X. and his family were living at Holyrood.

From Lady Wharncliffe to Lady Erne

“EDINBURGH, August 28, 1832.

“We came here to day dearest Mama from Arniston. . . . Since dinner we have had a visit from poor dear Madame de Gontaut to whom I wrote & offer'd to go to her, but she preferr'd coming here. She was very glad to see us, but she is very low & leads such a triste life! We are to go & see her to-morrow before twelve at Holyrood. She says poor *Dix* [the ex-King Charles X.] walks *every* day six or seven miles with his umbrella under his arm, *quite* alone. Little Bordeaux¹ rides, bathes, & swims, & so is very happy! I expect to see *him* at the Tuileries again some day. . . .”

In September the sojourn of the French Royal Family at Holyrood had evidently become so unbearable to them that they determined at all costs to end it.

Lady Wharncliffe to Lady Erne

“BELMONT, Sept. 19, 1832.

“. . . I am glad to see that our Queen has been to see poor Angoulême,² & that they *are* to have a vessel to take them away. I heard that there had been some remonstrance to our Government from Louis Philippe about their leaving this country, & that there was a moment's hesitation about fulfilling the engagement, but the Dauphine [called also Duchesse d'Angoulême] was indignant and very firm, & declared that she was *determined* not to return to Holyrood, & if no ship was allowed her she should embark in a Merchant Vessel. This is true, but as I have it from *good authority*, & that the newspapers seem to be in the dark as to the whole transaction, you had better say nothing till any body

¹ See p. 319, Vol. I.

² See p. 194, Vol. I.

speaks to you of it, or at least till they are gone. The fact is, I am convinced that they think it much *better* for the *Boy* to be in the Austrian Dominions than *here*; & it is somewhat curious that they should be received there with open arms, only since the death of *young Napoleon*. As to poor *Dix*, I don't suppose he cares much whether he ends his days at Holyrood or at Gratz.

"The people of Edinbro' have shew'd the greatest feeling upon their departure; but indeed they well may, for they are a great loss to them, especially round Holyrood. . . .

"The only event by the post to day is a letter from Ta¹ to his father, in which he informs him that his Son is Xten'd *Archibald, Henry, Plantagenet, Stuart!* (the first a compliment to the Doge). Is it not too good? It is *her* fancy I am sure. . . ."

Writing from Belmont on September 21 to her mother, Lady Wharncliffe refers again to the French Royal Family:

"... To day we have some neighbours to dine with us, amongst others Lord Airlie,² with whom the Governor & John went to dine & sleep last monday. He entertain'd them like a true Laird, & they sat up *half the night* in the drawing room *drinking whiskey punch*. It was a meeting of Tory gentlemen to talk over County business &c. The Governor came back delighted with the good humour & hospitality of his host, & the novelty of the whole thing.

"Have you heard, or did I tell you, that the royals of Holyrood are off for the continent. They are going to *Gratz*, but the Dauphine goes first to Vienna, where she will remain three months, and takes the little Princess with her; during which time poor Madame de Gontaut is to meet one of her daughters at Baden, & they will probably visit her afterwards at Gratz. The

¹ Charles Stuart Wortley.

² David, 6th Earl of Airlie (1785-1849). Cortachy, the Scotch seat, is about 80 miles from Belmont.

Dauphine's *health* is the *given* reason for this sudden departure, but I cannot help thinking some secret motive has suggested it.

"I had the pleasure of seeing Madame de Gontaut twice whilst I was at Edinbro'—but I dare say I told you this before. Adieu dearest Mama, à demain. The Dauphine & other *females* are already gone, & I believe by London. The King, Dauphin, & poor little Henri are waiting for a steamer to take them at once to Hamburgh. . . ."

From Lady Wharncliffe to Lady Erne

"CHATSWORTH,"

"Sunday, Oct. 14, 1832.

". . . The Duchess of Kent is to be here on the 19th & stays four days; & then the whole party breaks up, & we go back to Wortley. Now *why* put off *your* journey till the end of this month, instead of setting off in a few days, & being there to receive us? Your great & little Grand children are there to welcome you. . . ."

Speaking of her visit to Doncaster, Lady Wharncliffe says:

"You have no idea how much the Yeomanry were approved of, & what compliments *John* received for his riding, &c. . . . The Doge also looks to great advantage on his charger & galloping about. But John's figure is particularly pretty & graceful, & he is very graceful & perfectly at his ease thro' all the evolutions. . . ."

From the Hon. James Stuart Wortley to Lady Wharncliffe

"TRAVELLERS CLUB.

"Thursday, Nov. 1.

"I am in such rapture with this new Club House from which I am writing that I can hardly sit down to write you a line before I have further examined its per-

fections. . . . This House is really charming & does infinite credit to our architect Mr. Barry ; it is beautiful in all its details & apparently the very perfection of comfort. There is no room so small but what you may converse without annoying your neighbours or fearing to be overheard ; and on the other hand, none so large as to give an air of emptiness or discomfort : while it is fitted up with such perfect and gentlemanlike taste that it gives it all the snug feeling of a private house. However this is not a matter of much interest to you. . . .

“ I have just heard that the Mayor of Bristol has been acquitted, & from the evidence in defence his acquittal was fully anticipated, & indeed considered certain. The whole blame is almost by common consent thrown upon Colonel Brereton & the 3d dragoons. The others trials will, I should suppose, as a matter of course be abandoned.

“ Poor Lord Tenterden is said to be dangerously ill, & in case of his death it is generally feared that Denman ¹ will be his successor. This will be a sad event for the Law, & a most important one to the country. From previous connexions & ultra liberal professions many times repeated in former as well as latter times, he cannot execute the law with the necessary vigour, if he be ever so willing. . . .”

As the result of the separation of Holland and Belgium, a quarrel had arisen between the two countries on the question of the navigation of the Scheldt. Austria, Russia and Prussia sided with Holland ; France and England with Belgium. For a while the peace of Europe seemed at stake. The French marched a large army to besiege Antwerp, the citadel of which, though a Belgian city, was in the hands of the Dutch. The bombardment was very severe, added to which the drawing off of the water in the moat left the garrison in terrible straits.

On December 23 the Dutch general capitulated. The

¹ See p. 267, Vol. I.

citadel was given up to Belgian troops, and by the end of the year the French army had returned to its own country.

From the Hon. James Stuart Wortley to Lord Wharncliffe

“LONDON, Nov. 3, 1832.

“There is no news & very few reports; among the latter however is one that a Russian Fleet is to meet the allied fleet off the Scheldt, & if necessary to prevent by force the blockage of the Scheldt. This however sounds like moonshine. Another report which deserves more credit is that an embargo has actually been laid by the Dutch Government on all ships at present in their ports; war, or at least a collision with Holland, is almost universally expected. . . .”

From the Hon. James Stuart Wortley to Lady Wharncliffe

“LONDON, Nov. 6, 1832.

“ . . . I dont hear a great deal of politics & my information therefore is not very valuable, but from what I do hear a general war is very commonly anticipated, & the mischievous absurdity of the part we are taking is almost universally acknowledged. This evening’s papers speak of the Prussians as marching to the frontier, & if this be the case there can be little doubt of the consequence of some collision between the *great* powers. In the mean time the feeling of the navy (as I hear from a person who has been at Portsmouth) is quite against the expedition; they think they are sent on a fool’s errand, & hate the French. So strong is this feeling, that I understand some doubts are entertained of the men being willing to serve in case any thing should happen to Sir P. Malcolm, & the command thus devolve upon Villeneuve, who is the son of the Villeneuve of Trafalgar. The whole expedition is said to be against the feelings of both officers & men. There seems however no excitement in the country about it, though if war breaks out it must become unpopular. . . .”

On November 24 James Stuart Wortley, whose fate as Tory candidate for Halifax was still in the balance, writes from London to his mother at Wortley :

“. . . Don't be surprized if I tumble in either on Monday or Tuesday to dine & sleep, & pray have my room ready for me. Perhaps if I do that, my father will not object to lending me his little carriage to go on in next morning, which will be more consistent with the dignity of a *candidate* than arriving in the coach. They now talk of a dissolution on Saturday, and that is the only news of the evening. . . .”

Early in December 1832 the first General Election since the Reform Bill took place, resulting in a great Whig majority. John Stuart Wortley unsuccessfully contested the West Riding.

From Lady Wharncliffe to the Hon. Mrs. J. C. Talbot

“WORTLEY HALL,
“Sunday, Dec. 3, 1832.

“I enclose you a letter I received tonight from Morpeth for your amusement my dearest Missy. . . . We have heard nothing more of the West Riding business, so suppose the Tories are timid, or pottering as usual. We have told Morpeth we know nothing, & Charles has sent him word that *he means to stand*, and bets him 20 to 1 that he *floors him*. . . .”

From Lord Morpeth to Lady Wharncliffe

“CASTLE HOWARD, *Saturday*.

“Do not be angry with me, but I must have some fun with you. Colleague Strickland & I think that the Barnsley Requisition breathes the inspiration of Wortley. Which of you is it to be? John I know has affronted all Master-Cutlers, past, present, & to come, so we will hew him down with Wharncliffe knives if he appears; then Jem cannot leave all the Miss Baillie's at Halifax. Then it must be Charles; if it

is, tell him he shall pay for my horse which he maimed, and which you may add has got quite well. Do come over & meet me at Barnsley on Tuesday the 11th; I will get for you what would do your heart good—an Orange cheer; & another for Lady Erne.

“I think you must not shew this to the Governor, unless he is in a very good humor. I have good accounts of Lady Gower, who has been very ailing.

“Always yours,

“MORPETH.”

The Grampound business referred to in the letter which follows was a Bill brought in in 1820 and re-introduced in 1821 for disfranchising the borough of Grampound for gross corruption. Spencer Walpole, who writes with a strong Whig bias, considers that Lord Wharncliffe (Stuart Wortley, as he was at that time) wrecked the Bill. Lord Wharncliffe's version of the affair is altogether different.

From Lord Wharncliffe to the Hon. James Stuart Wortley

“WORTLEY HALL,

“Saturday Evening, Dec. 8, 1832.

“I could not write to you yesterday as I went out immediately after Breakfast shooting with Vin, and did not come home in time.

“I have read your speech carefully. Your defence of me I am very grateful for, but you are not quite correct in your facts, and as you may have to allude to the Grampound business again, I will set you right now. Lord J. Russell brought in the bill, and I supported it into the Committee. When there, he proposed to make the qualification a 10£ house holding, and I proposed 20£ per Annum. Upon a division, I succeeded; upon which he threw up the bill in a fit of temper, and I took it up and carried thro' its remaining stages in the House of Commons, against the opinion of Canning, (who was then out of Government,) and of the Government also. Even my best friends were angry with me

for so doing. When it came to the House of Lords, I saw Lord Liverpool about it several times, and almost went upon my knees to persuade him to let the experiment of giving the Elective Franchise to Great Towns be tried by that means, but to no effect. Upon the East Retford Bill, I actually moved in the House of Lords an alteration in the Bill as it came to that House, giving the franchise to Birmingham, and told the Tories that they would resist till they were forced into giving the franchise in that way. Holland always tells me that I made him a reformer by my speech on that occasion, for he had never voted for it before.

“As to the Church Rates, I continue to think that you hold out more than you will find easy to perform, without sacrificing the Establishment, and I cant help begging you to observe that none even of the Radical candidates have yet thought it necessary to make so precise a pledge upon that matter. You go too far also on the Slave Trade. . . .

“Sunday 2 o’clock. I like your second speech much better than your first. But if as much is expected from a candidate as you hold out in these speeches, I want to know how any mortal can have time for any thing else in the world. I am quite sure that no man who is in circumstances to depend upon his success in his profession, can devote himself to it and, at the same time, be a member of Parliament upon such an understanding. However it is too late to talk of that. . . .”

The next letter is written by Lord Wharncliffe to his son James just before the Halifax Election :

“WORTLEY HALL,

“Monday 2 o’clock, Dec. 10, 1832.

“I have no doubt that for the purpose, or rather with a view to the election of a populous place such as Halifax, it is necessary to go into detail, and to entangle oneself by declarations upon most difficult questions, and that very circumstance has always been



JAMES STUART WORTLEY, AFTERWARDS M.P., SOLICITOR-GENERAL, ETC.
By George Hayter. The property of the Earl of Wharnccliffe.

my main objection to the plan of making all elections popular, and having no others. You may therefore be justified, having once embarked in the affair, in holding out expectations, such as you have done, if you conscientiously think they ought to be fulfilled."

There follows a disquisition on the Church rate, already mentioned in the last letter. Lord Wharncliffe then comes to the question of Slavery.

"Again, as to Slavery, I know very well the strong feeling of the Methodists upon that subject, and their great power in popular elections; but I also know that they are enthusiasts, and therefore most unwise guides in any matter of legislation which is to affect the interests of others. They would destroy the West Indies altogether, *for the sake of the Lord* and to do away with what they deem a sin, if the interests of those colonies come in their way. And their conduct with respect to the Catholic question appears to me to shew precisely this very thing. Can anything be so absurd as to say that because the Catholic question was carried against their wishes, they were to turn reformers? . . .

"But as they were willing from enthusiastic notions against Popery to risk a civil war in Ireland, so now from abhorrence of Slavery, they care not what injuries they inflict, or what miseries they may occasion, provided that which they consider a sin is instantly removed. Your speech in the spring was quite right upon this point, but when you talk of '*lashing*' on the Government if they don't go what you chuse to think '*fast enough*' in this matter, you seem to me to be enlisting yourself too completely in the service of the Anti-Slavery party. . . .

"It is not fair in me to plague you with these reflections now. I admit they come too late. My earnest prayer is, that my anticipations in this respect may be wrong. . . . They are the drawbacks to the pride and pleasure with which I follow your course. . . .

“ God bless you.

“ I retain my intention of going to Halifax when the Election is over, and am glad to have such an opportunity of coming among my old friends and constituents. . . .”

In the Halifax Election of December 1832, James Stuart Wortley's name was at the bottom of the poll.

John Talbot, the brilliant and successful young barrister, writes to his brother-in-law a letter of condolence :

“ By the time you will receive this, when the immediate feelings of annoyance & disappointment at defeat will have passed away, you will I doubt not be prepared to agree that perhaps it is well or better as it is. There is certainly no beaten candidate in the kingdom who has more, or more obvious topics of consolation than yourself. . . . Not the least of the set-offs is your own brilliant execution of your share of the fight. . . . Alas my dear Jem, your defeat is but one of too many which shew that those who wish to go slowly if at all to our ruin, are never likely to be furnished with the means of checking our mad progress. . . .

The next paragraph shows that the Bolshevik spirit existed even in those days :

“ You may guess our brethren of the bar are not silent when they see Sugden & Wetherell rejected to make room for such ornaments to the profession as M. D. Hill & John Jervis. What think you of the two successful candidates at Brighton, Messrs Wigney & Faithful. One said that he never would allow a certain old man who lived not far off & his bastards to feed upon the people ; the other that he would take all pledges but one, namely, that the Queen should have no more than £15000 per annum, that sum he thought far too much. Goulburn, who was beaten at Ipswich, told me that he heard Wason the member say that ‘ destructive ’ was not the epithet for him—he (Wason) was an ‘ Extirpationist ’.

“ Alas ! alas !—where is it all to end ? Pray tell

me when you write whether you think the ballot¹ would have been of use to you at Halifax. At Marlbro' the other party were clamorous for it; one side said the result would have been at least as favourable with as without it. If it were not for stopping somewhere I should be for it I do think. . . ."

On December 14 a serious riot occurred at Sheffield. While the election was proceeding, about 30,000 people assembled, and were soon completely out of hand. The windows of the Tontine were destroyed and the house of a Mr. Palfreyman was attacked. The Riot Act was read and a despatch sent to Rotherham for a detachment of infantry. On its arrival the mob stoned the soldiers, who were then ordered to fire. Three men and two boys were shot dead. By the next morning tranquillity was restored. At what exact moment Lord Wharncliffe and his yeomanry arrived does not appear.

From Lord Wharncliffe to Lady Wharncliffe

"SHEFFIELD, Tuesday evening.

"I stay tonight, not from any fear of disturbance, but because I don't like to leave the town while I have the Yeomanry out, or at least while the Troops not actually belonging to the town are here. However, the bodies of the poor men are all quietly buried, and the Coroner's Jury have returned a verdict of Justifiable Homicide, two of the Jurors, only, being dissentient. In fact everything is now perfectly quiet, and tomorrow morning I shall send away one half of the Yeomanry. The others will remain till a Troop of Dragoons, which I suggested to Sir H. Bouverie the propriety of sending here, arrives on Thursday. All this has been a great annoyance, but I really think upon the whole that it has been a good thing for the town of Sheffield that it has happened. . . .

"I send you a letter from Charles from Antwerp. A capital despatch. . . ."

¹ The first General Election after the Ballot Act of 1874 returned a Conservative majority.

From Lady Wharncliffe to the Hon. Mrs. J. C. Talbot

“WORTLEY HALL,

“*Thursday, Dec. 21, 1832.*

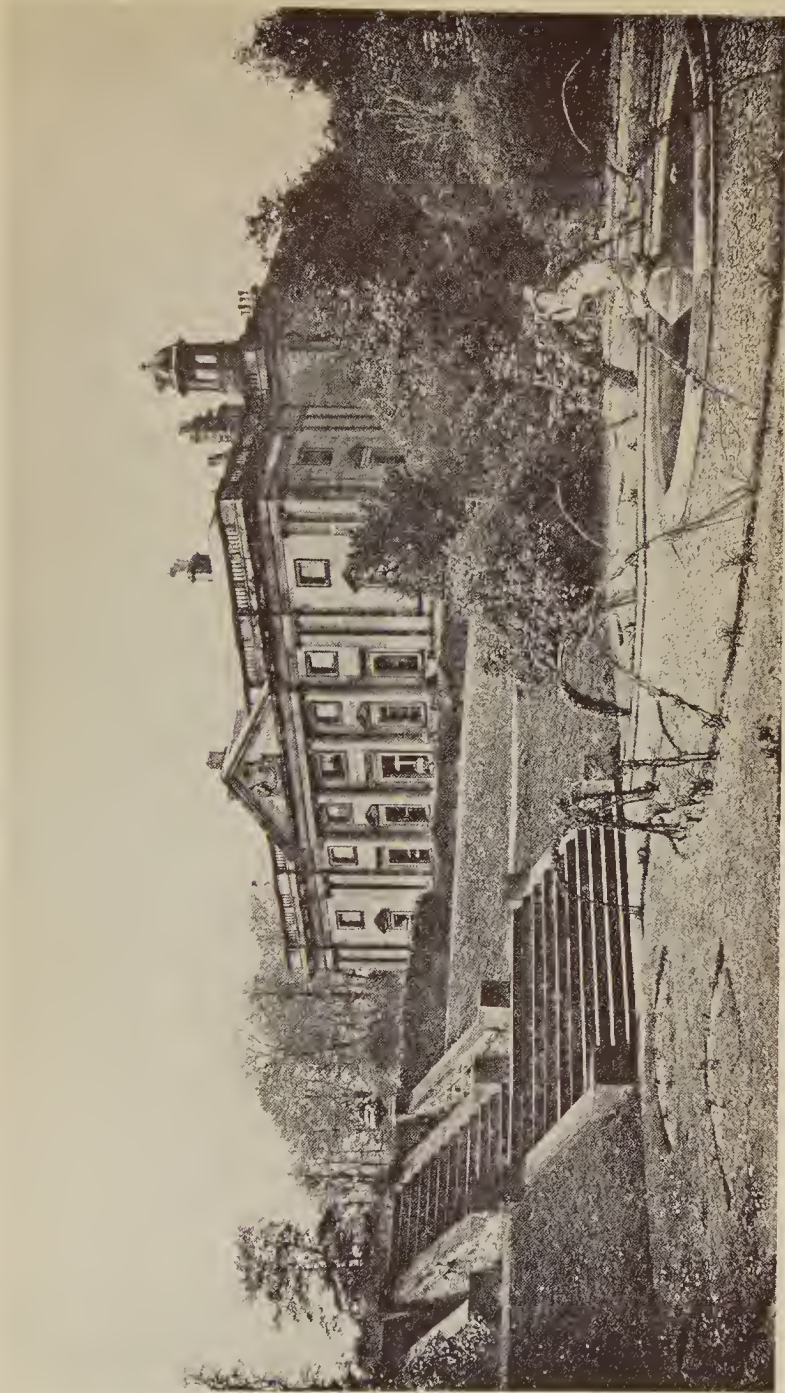
“I don't understand why there is not a word in the *Guardian* to night about Sheffield. I should have thought they would have been glad to have such a case to annoy Ministers.

“By the bye, there was one charming little circumstance which I think is mentioned in the printed paper I sent you last night, of an attack upon the house of Mr. Palfryman. Now the zest of the story is, that he was secretary to their political union, but being also a registering Barrister had a great hand in assisting Parkin's election, and for *this* reason he became obnoxious to the Mob, had his windows broke, & his house threaten'd, & was obliged to fire to frighten away his *old friends*. . . .

“You are quite right about the Governor, he is as gloomy as ever, c'est tout dire, but keeps up his spirits here pretty well. He thinks the late row has been a very good thing for Sheffield, & that both himself & the Yeomanry stand very high in the opinions of all classes. *They* behaved with the greatest order and propriety, but never had to *act*.

“I am beginning to be quite out of breath at the idea that in another fortnight we shall be moving from here! How I hate moving! However I am glad we stop at Belvoir, tho' I begin to fear Charles will not be back. The Governor too rather enjoys the thoughts of the Tory party [at Belvoir], & of hearing what will be their language. I hope *the* Duke will be there. Do ask Emmeline if she knows whether it is certain. . . .”

The triumph of the Whigs culminated in the General Election necessitated by the Reform Bill, which took place at the end of December 1832. They were returned by an enormous majority, of which, however, a large proportion



WORTLEY HALL, NEAR SHEFFIELD, AS IT IS NOW

were Radicals. Lady Wharncliffe gives the Tory point of view with much force and acumen.

From Lady Wharncliffe to the Hon. Mrs. J. C. Talbot

“WORTLEY HALL,
“Saturday, Dec. 23, 1832.

“ . . . The Governor desires me to say that he is as gloomy as ever, but always foresaw what would happen, tho’ the Conservatives would flatter themselves the elections were to do wonders. He has had a letter this evening from Lord Mahon¹ upon other matters, but who ends in a tone of despondency which even beats the Governor. He says it is calculated that, including Ireland, there will be 200 & 50 Radicals in the new Parliament of the worst description ! What a prospect ! & how cruel not to be able for very fright to rejoice at the unmanageable Frankenstein the Ministers have brought into life to destroy them. The horror is, that it is no longer a question of looking to even *waverers* to help us, if the Whigs get turn’d out. It will now only be to make room for Destructives. . . .

“I am furious with the London papers for not putting in an account of the Sheffield affair—such a case against the Bill ! But Jem supposes they put in nothing they are not *paid* for, as they never said a word about Halifax—such patriots !”

¹ Philip Henry Stanhope (1805–75), son of 4th Earl Stanhope. Succeeded to the earldom in 1855.

CHAPTER XXVI

(1833)

Visit to Belvoir—The Duke of Wellington a guest at Belvoir—Dinner at the Pavilion—The Queen's illness—Lady Wellesley and Lady Robert Grosvenor—Another dinner at Pavilion—Devotion of Royal pair—King's speech at opening of Parliament—The influenza—Session of 1833 a stormy one—Irish Church Bill—The Appropriation Clauses—Lord Brougham's eulogy of Lord Wharncliffe—Government defeated, but decide to go on—Princess Victoria's adventure—Letter from Lady Louisa Percy—Avignon and Grignan.

AFTER the General Election at the end of 1832, a lull took place in the political world until the meeting of Parliament in February 1833.

The first letter of 1833 describes a visit to the Duke of Rutland at Belvoir. It will be remembered that Lady Emmeline Manners had married Lord Wharncliffe's second son, Charles.

From Lady Wharncliffe to the Hon. Mrs. J. C. Talbot

“BELVOIR, Monday, Jan. 7, 1833.

“I have to give you a little account of our proceedings here since the first day as I have never yet done. I told you I believe how late we arrived that day, & of the Governor & I dining snugly in his dressing room. Our company there was, besides the Drummonds, Jermyns, *Wortleys* & ourselves, the Brownlows, the Valletorts, Lord & Lady Manners, *Arbuthnots* & Tavistocks—the Duke of Wellington, Lord Rokeby¹ & several other men not necessary to enumerate.

“I was much annoyed as you may suppose, at first,

¹ Henry, 6th Baron Rokeby (1798–1883). At his death the title became extinct.

at the idea of meeting Mrs. *Arbuthnot*, having after many years of doubtful acquaintance ended in never taking notice of each other. However we happen'd the very next day to be accidentally left *tête a tête* in the gallery, so I took the bull by the horns and spoke to her. She seem'd *surprised*, but *glad* to be relieved from our awkward situation, & the ice once broken we got on very well. She is just what I have heard from those who know her well, a clever agreeable person to talk to, a clear good head, & well inform'd on many subjects. But she is certainly neither pleasing nor interesting. As for him, he is amiable & gentlemanlike, & we have known him a very long time so we are very glad to meet him.

“ My situation at dinner the first day was comical, between Mr. Arbuthnot and Lord Tavistock, who is a very pleasing little man, & as I *hear*, one of the frighten'd Whigs, tho' he will hardly acknowledge it. He said something about our row at Sheffield, so I treated him to a *detail* of the whole business, & the *cause*, which he did not seem to be quite aware of. On the other hand, I took advantage of being next to Mr. Arbuthnot to get from him some information as to the Duke of Wellington's *present* opinions, & I then learnt what you will read in your Father's letter to your Brother John. Mr. Arbuthnot has *since* told me, that the Duke told him he was delighted with every line of the paper that Lord Wharncliffe had given him to read, & was glad to find they agreed so much. He added that he could not conceive a more unjustifiable line for a tory to take, than to attempt to *weaken* the government as long as they shew a disposition to repair or arrest the mischief they are the cause of ; or for the tories ever to vote with the radicals against them. I must reserve till we meet many little particulars.

“ I cannot tell you how odd it seems to me to be in a Country House with the Duke of Wellington like any *other visitor*. You would have been pleased to see him on the night of the Ball, with perfect good-humour,

dancing down two *immensely* long country dances. It was excessively full, of all sorts of people from the neighbourhood, besides all the servants in the house. When we went in to dinner that day there was an immense crowd assembled in the Gothic gallery, who cheer'd him handsomely as he walk'd by. It was pleasant, & yet melancholy to hear under existing circumstances. He is looking remarkably well, & says he has not felt so well & strong for many years, owing to moderation in *eating*. He goes out every day, either shooting or hunting, so that we never see him in the morning.

“The Brownlows, Valletorts & Manners's are gone, but others are expected—the Newburghs to-day, & the Peels I believe to-morrow, Lord Mahon, etc. You cannot think how much more comfortable I feel here this time, being now *at home* with the family. . . .”

From Lady Wharncliffe to the Hon. Mrs. J. C. Talbot

“BELVOIR, Tuesday, Jan. 8, 1833.

“ . . . I was *disagreeably* surprised yesterday to find that our Hero meant to leave us this morning, especially as we had begun to be great friends. You would have been *captivated* with him if you had been here, & seen him exhibiting the *beauties* of his character—his perfect simplicity & goodhumour, his kind & playful manner to the Boys, & his readiness to be amused. The Governor is I think much pleased at finding himself once more on comfortable terms with him, & feeling & thinking the same. . . .

“By the bye, I sat by Lord Mahon at dinner yesterday, & in *that* way I thought him agreeable—but he is very *odd*. Lord Rokeby is talking away, & so amusing that I can hardly write. . . .

“I like being here very much, now that I feel at my ease. One does just what one likes, & the rooms are *so* comfortable. Fancy poor Mrs. Arkwright who is coming to the great party for Billy ! [William IV.]”

On January 25, 1833 Lady Wharncliffe is again at Brighton. Once more she describes a dinner at the Pavilion :

“BRIGHTON, *Friday, Jan. 25, 1833.*

“ . . . The fun of the thing was rather the party round the table, consisting only of the King and Queen, the Governor & myself, & the Duchess of Gloucester (for poor old Cholmondeley sat in the corner by the Queen looking very happy & *stupid*, but silent). H.M. eyes suddenly closed at last, & he took a tidy little nap of ten minutes, from which he woke *as* suddenly, & rather *shocked*. The Queen was busily employed working little things for a Bazaar for the relief of Foreigners in distress, of which she is Patroness, & most actively employs herself in getting assistance for it, both here & on the Continent. She gave me a printed paper about it. So now you have an opportunity of giving practical proof of your Loyalty. As for *me* O Dio ! what shall I do ? She was very touching, for she said she hoped I would allow her to add me to her list, as even a *name* was of great use. I suppose I must end by spending a fortune in buying at it, as I know not *what* to contribute !

“ The King was in very good spirits, & good fun, but one was afraid of *encouraging him*, as he was rather inclined to be *improper* in his jokes. In short we all got on amazingly well, & the Queen was quite at her ease with us ; & looking up once, said, ‘ What a domestic party we are.’ The Duchess of Gloucester was a great help to us, but it put me in mind of the comfortable way we got into with Kent & Vickey before they left Chatsworth ; & I am more than ever convinced that what Kings and Queens & Princes like is to see one at ones ease, tho’ respectful, but dislike formality or vulgar familiarity, & that there are very few people, that are not amongst their old friends or servants, hit off the right line, or know how to be *natural* with them.

“ To leave the Court for the present, I must tell you that your Papa came across Lord Dover ¹ the other day,

¹ Born 1797 ; married Georgiana, daughter of 6th Earl of Carlisle. Died July 1833, aged 36.

who began talking to him about the present state of things, upon which the Governor gave him his mind without reserve & in his *best manner*. You may imagine it was not *gentle* or *encouraging*, but they continued talking all the way to Brunswick Terrace, where not having finish'd Lord Dover ask'd the Governor to come in with him at the Bedford, where he lives, & when they had done your Papa flatters himself he had *shaken* his confidence in the favourable view he before had of the prospect before us ; & *spoilt his dinner*. It will of course go *further*, & I am very glad that Ministers should know the Governor's opinion, & that if they hope for any assistance from him, or those of his party, *they* must shew a stout front against the radicals, & do their best to resist instead of to conciliate them. . . .

" Dear Addy [Queen Adelaide] went past this morning from the East Cliff to the West on horseback. It seems so funny to see her in a *riding habit* ! She was talking & laughing with the Duke of Dorset,¹ & Lord Errol was on the other side. Her figure is very nice on horseback. I talk'd to her about her hunting, & she told me she had also come across the *Harriers* one day *riding*, & followed them a little, & was delighted with it. The *Fox* chase she saw from her carriage."

From Lady Wharncliffe to the Hon. Mrs. J. C. Talbot

" BRIGHTON, Tuesday, Jan. 29, 1833.

" As I fear'd, we did not see our *dear Queen* yesterday, & very glad I am that I did not know till she was getting well, how ill she had been ! It is really horrid to think of. You know I told you that I saw her ride by this House thursday or friday last, & it seems that she was quite well that evening, but the next day she was suddenly seized with violent sickness & pains in the back of her head, & the sickness brought on spasms in her

¹ Charles Sackville Germaine, K.G. Born 1767. Succeeded his cousin as Duke of Dorset. Died unmarried, 1848. All honours extinct.

throat that almost *choked* her. She was of course put to bed, & Davies sent for, & he seems really to have managed her admirably. . . . The King told us that it was the first time he had ever seen her frighten'd about herself. . . . They were very anxious about her for two days. Yesterday when we dined there, the King said she was going on quite well. . . . Last year such an attack would have been call'd *Cholera*, & indeed it was not unlike it. . . .

"Lady Wellesley¹ who has been confined to her room ever since we came, made her appearance for the first time yesterday, & really it is quite remarkable to see the perfect *ease* & propriety of her manner in her *place*. It is as if she had been born at Court, & certainly never for a moment reminds one that she is a Yankee.

"By the bye, Lady Robert Grosvenor² is going to Town either saturday or Monday, & begg'd I would tell you so, & that as you were *both* great walkers she hoped you would call on her, as she would upon you. I like her very much; the *Ménage* seems to go on beautifully. They walk together every day, & appear most comfortable. She improves much upon acquaintance; but she is not in beauty just now, being too thin, & not looking strong. . . ."

From Lady Wharncliffe to the Hon. Mrs. J. C. Talbot

"BRIGHTON, Sunday, Feb. 3, 1833.

"You will be glad to hear that our dear Queen *did* dine with us yesterday, & seems as well as usual. But such an account as she gave me of her attack you never heard! However it seems that she has had the *like* once before, so I trust they are more alarming than dangerous, as they are consider'd chiefly nervous. She

¹ Marianne, daughter of Richard Caton, and widow of Robert Paterson, whose sister was first wife of Jerome Bonaparte. Married, 1825, Richard, Marquess Wellesley, K.G., K.P. (1760-1842).

² Charlotte Arbuthnot Wellesley, sister of 1st Earl Cowley. Married, 1831, Robert Grosvenor, son of 1st Marquess of Westminster. Lord Robert was created Baron Ebury, 1857.

is going up with the King to-morrow, & to be in Town by *one o'clock*. I said I thought she had better stay here & rest herself, but she said that was impossible, & that she would on no account let him go without her, as she had only found out *that* day, that if she had not been well enough to go also, he had intended returning here at night, & going back the next morning for the House of Lords, which she said she could not think of allowing. Is it not touching of *both*? I only hope she will not be overtired. They return on Friday.

"The Beverleys dined there also, the Arundel Bouveries (the Maid of Honour *as was*) & the Gents, & we had also His Grace of Cleveland. Only think what an annoying accident happen'd to poor Lady Mount-Charles. Two favorite & beautiful little Phaeton horses, & another, were burnt, or rather suffocated in their stable the night before last whilst she was dining at the Pavilion. *He* was gone to Town to prepare for his speech, so they sent an express to her about nine o'clock to tell her of the fire, & she poor thing very nervous & frighten'd for her children, instantly ask'd to go home, where at first she was too happy to find *them* safe. . . . As soon [as] the King heard of it next day he sent her a pair of Poneys, which he begg'd she would accept. Nothing could be more goodnatured or galant. . . .

"Here is the Governor who begs I will tell you to send the little carriage to the Elephant & Castle a quarter *before three*. He goes by the Alert Coach."

From Lady Wharncliffe to the Hon. Mrs. J. C. Talbot

"BRIGHTON, *Tuesday*.

" . . . The Governor says he had a very pleasant journey up to Town on the top of his Coach. He will have told you all about his interviews with Lord Dover. Is it not too cruel, that now that those people see our danger, & talk conservative language, they should have lost all power of doing us good! If we *can* be saved, it

must be thanks to the Tories, but in courting their support they [the Government] will now only still further encrease their own unpopularity. Lady Clanricarde¹ whose *heart* is not Whig, & who has too much sense to allow even *prejudice* to influence her judgments, said to me yesterday, talking of Ireland, ‘the *Duke of Wellington* is the only man who would be useful there now’—this from *her*! If they could propose it, I have no doubt he would accept if he thought he could do good. But the appearance of such an appointment would I suppose be too monstrous to be thought of, & I console myself with thinking that he would daily be in danger of Assassination! I confess I begin to long to be in Town & hear all that is said, as well as done. What Labour it will be to read the debates! Yet one *must* see what the new Members say, & what the Ministers answer. I hope Pozzo² will not be gone before I get to Town, tho’ I shall of course benefit little or none by his being there. . . .

“I don’t wonder you felt impatient to leave the room when Johnny Russell came in. Talking of *Pozzo*, you need not fancy he is being *humbugg’d* by any thing he [Lord J. Russell] says. Old Tally [Talleyrand] is not a more wily Fox than he is, but he perhaps deceives still better by having a delightful goodhumour’d face & *frank* manner. He knows full well the impotence of the Whigs to stop the mouvement, but it is his duty to approve such intentions, & to *appear* to believe it possible.

“Olivia de Ros³ begins her waiting when the Queen comes back, & says she is sure we shall dine there *Sunday*, as that is *drawing* night, when there are neither cards or *work*. She maliciously enjoys being *present*, &

¹ Daughter of Viscountess Canning and the Right Hon. George Canning. Married, 1825, Ulick John, 14th Earl of Clanricarde and 1st Marquess. Her second son, Hubert, 15th Earl and 2nd Marquess, died unmarried, leaving all his property to Henry, Viscount Lascelles, husband of Princess Mary.

² See p. 197, Vol. I.

³ Daughter of Baroness de Ros, and granddaughter of 20th Baron de Ros. Married, 1834, Henry, 1st Earl Cowley, K.G. She died 1885.

warns me that she shall say it is very *like*, whether it is *flatter'd* or *not*. She is a great treat.

“By the bye I dont think Gooma [Lady Erne] need be unhappy at the Queens doing something for foreigners, considering that she does all that she ought in charity both public and private for the English. Lady Beverley & I had great fun with her the other night about wearing *french things*, as she confess'd she sometimes bought them, & that what she could not forgive was *sending to Paris* for dress, & not buying them here. I think this is quite fair, & much more than her ungrateful subjects deserve. She is quite a dear, & nobody worthy to succeed her but *Vickey*, if she is as much what she ought to be when a woman, as she is as a child.

“As you like to hear of the little *attentions* of our Sovereigns to each other, I must tell you that last Saturday we sat in the evening in the round room because of the Gents & the P.forte; and on each side of the fire are two long circular divans, on one of which the Queen, Princess Augusta & the Duchess of Gloucester sat, & invited Lady Beverley to sit with them. Before us was a table. When the King came in after dinner alone & walked up to it, but there was no chair, & before any body could rush & get him one, the Queen had thrown down her work, skimm'd past Lady Beverley, & brought him one, & quietly resumed her seat. He said, ‘My good friend, *pray* dont trouble yourself’, and then addressing us said something about her being the best & most ‘*galant of wives*’! *tidy*! I *long'd* to say there were few like her in his Dominions. I was pleased too with Lady Wellesley, who was sitting working on the other divan with others, & who got up & came & *snuff'd* the Queens candles; the Queen thank'd her, & said she took pleasure in doing what she thought was agreeable to others, to which Lady Wellesley answer'd ‘Your Majesty never fails to interpret favorably whatever anybody does.’ The Queen look'd down on her work & was silent, not having dreamt of bringing this

little compliment upon herself. Lady Beverley quite agrees that after all the Queen is an *agreeable person*. She has three principal ingredients; perfect nature, great goodhumour, & is very communicative—besides which, she is up to fun, & puts one quite at ones ease. . . .”

The King’s speech at the opening of the first Reformed Parliament was of course framed on the advice of his Whig Ministers, and more especially on that of Mr. Stanley, who, though Chief Secretary for Ireland, hated the Irish and was hated by them. “I feel confident”, the King said, “that you will be ready to adopt such measures of salutary precaution, and to intrust to me such additional powers as may be found necessary for controlling and punishing the disturbers of the public peace, and for preserving the legislative union between the two countries. . . .” With the help of the Conservatives, as the Tories were now called, the Address was carried by a large majority.

From Lord Wharncliffe to Lady Wharncliffe

“HOUSE OF LORDS

“Feb. 5. Tuesday evening, $\frac{1}{2}$ p. 5.

“As I expected, Dearest Love, I shall not be able to get away before Thursday, when I hope to be in Brighton by 4 o’clock, but I cannot be quite sure of being able to start early enough to do so.

“Conyngham¹ is now speaking, and moving the address rather well, indeed very much better than it is usually done, and while I am writing has finished his speech very successfully. You will read the King’s speech almost as soon as you get this. It is stout about the repeal of the Union and the state of Ireland, and I am told that the King when he read this part of it did so not only firmly, but in a tone of voice which

¹ Francis Nathaniel, 2nd Marquess Conyngham, K.P. (1797–1876). Son of the Lady Conyngham who exercised great influence over George IV. during the latter years of his life. Married, 1824, Lady Jane Paget, daughter of 1st Marquess of Anglesey. Succeeded his father in the peerage, 1832.

might have been heard at Charing Cross. In fact War is now declared upon this point with O'Connell, and we shall see which party conducts his affairs with the most skill and perseverance. It is a curious thing, in the mean time, to reflect that this repeal of the Union, the notion of which was at first treated as something impossible to be supported by any body of persons, now, for the first time appears prominently in the King's speech, and when we read the language in which it is mentioned, to look back to the language of George 3rd with regard to the separation of America from the mother Country. I wish all this may not be ominous. Kinnaird is now up to second the address, and is doing it very like a boy at the Harrow speeches.

"Here there will be no division, and, I should think, not much talk, but I suspect it will be a different matter in the House of Commons. I think I told you yesterday that it was reported that there were to be 5 amendments to the address by the Radicals and that the House was to sit for 3 days at least upon that question.

"With regard to the general tone of feeling here, no man can doubt that there is a very general uneasiness and fear of what is hanging over us, and the only comfort any body looks to, is from some vague hope that the good sense of the country will save us. You know that I have no great faith in that quality in my countrymen.

"Aberdeen is speaking now, and very bitterly and well upon the Dutch War, and foreign politics. . . .

"I have not time for more. . . ."

From the Hon. James Stuart Wortley to Lady Wharncliffe

NEWCASTLE,

"Sunday, Feb. 24, 1833.

". . . Ingham (who is M.P. for South Shields, & a frightened Whig, & who is also a very clever & sensible man) has joined the Circuit here, & gives a very alarming account of the 'Reformed House', & very different from that flattering picture which Evelyn Denison gave

you & me in Curzon Street. Ingham says that the wildness of the views & purposes of many in the House of Commons is far beyond what the Ministers or their supporters imagine, & that the number of these persons are great enough to make them very formidable. He says there is much anxiety about the course to be taken in the House of Lords on the Church Reform Bills, but that when he speaks to these people of the chance of resistance in that House, they laugh & cry ‘Let them! Lord Grey settled that for us last year!’ . . .”

In the spring of 1833 the influenza seems to have raged in London very much as it has done in recent years.

From Lady Wharncliffe to Lady Erne

“CURZON STREET,
“Saturday, April 27, 1833.

“. . . It is a most curious complaint, & if it was at all more serious would be terrific, for no plague was ever so universal. I cannot help hoping, however, that we shall escape as the weather is so changed and improved. Have you any of it in your Palace? Remember you must live as well as you possibly can, & except a little dose in the beginning, no medicine is required; but perfect quiet & *support*. This is the general treatment, & people recover very soon, but slowly. It particularly affects the strength & spirits, so that it must be *fought* against & bullied, but not by making any *bodily* exertions.

“What do you say to the Ministers being beat last night? I hope they will not resign in a pet. Governments now a days would be going out two or three times in a Session with such a parliament as this, if they do not submit to be beat sometimes; & yet the tone of some of the Members is such that really one longs to throw up the cards, & say, Gentlemen, pray do it all your own way, & see if you can govern better than us. . . .”

The session of 1833 was a stormy one. On April 26 the Whig Ministry, in spite of its supposed large majority, was beaten by 10 votes on a motion for the reduction of the Malt Tax, which was proposed by Sir William Ingilby, one of the members for Lincolnshire. Grey very nearly resigned. Meanwhile the Chief Secretary for Ireland, Stanley, proposed to the Cabinet two measures for Ireland—a Coercion Act and a Church Temporalities Act, the one as a counterpoise to the other. The mere suggestion of these measures nearly broke up the great Reform ministry. The two measures, after fierce debates and many vicissitudes, passed both Houses by the end of July.

The curious feature of politics in this session was that the Government relied for support on the Opposition, against the violence of their own Left Wing.

From Lady Wharncliffe to Lady Erne

“CURZON STREET,

“*Sunday, April 28, 1833.*

“After all dearest Mama I am confined with this odious influenza. It came on this morning in bed with a pain in my bones, feverishness & cough, & as usual fell so much upon my nerves, that I felt too restless to stay in bed. . . .

“There is no news. People seem to think the Ministers will not, & ought not, to resign, but it is reported that Lord Althorp will. They had no idea at all that they should be beat, & would not if they had taken common precautions ; but many were absent, & some voted against them to please their constituents, who had no notion they would be run so hard.”

From Lady Wharncliffe to Lady Erne

“CURZON STREET,

“*Wednesday, May 1, 1833.*

“. . . I am invited to a little soirée to-morrow at Lady Dudley Stuart’s,¹ where I am sorry I am not likely

¹ Christiana Alexandrine Egypta, daughter of Lucien Bonaparte, Prince of Canino. Married, 1824, Dudley Coutts Stuart (1803–54), son of John, 4th Earl and 1st Marquess of Bute.

to be able to go, as her Father *Lucien* is here & I should probably meet *Joseph* also, who I know is in England. There is something so Dramatic, as well as Historical, in all the Buonaparte family, (their whole career now so like a dream) that I confess I should like to find myself in a *small* room with them, & say to myself *this* one saved his Brother in the most critical moment of his life, & *that* one once sat upon the Throne of Spain ! It may be a childish feeling, but I have great pleasure in indulging in it ; & cannot think without great regret that I have never seen *Napoleon*, altho' he never inspired me with any enthusiasm. . . ."

From Lady Wharncliffe to Lady Erne

"CURZON STREET,
"Saturday, May 18, 1833.

" . . . We had a beautiful Ball last night, & I never saw dancing go on more gayly. The Queen, who delights in Waltzing, got a good deal of it last night, first with the Duke of Orleans, & then the Duke of Brunswick. I was quite glad of it poor dear, & it was a proof too that she was quite well again. *Missy*¹ who goes out but seldom was so well amused that we staid to the end, or rather till the King & Queen went, which was not till near 3 o'clock."

From the Hon. James Stuart Wortley to Lady Wharncliffe

"WORTLEY HALL,
"Sunday, June 7, 1833.

" You will be surprised to receive a letter from hence, & indeed I had not expected to get a day to come over before the end of next week, but we finished at Bradford earlier than we had hoped, & yesterday morning Dundas, Egerton Harcourt² & myself finding ourselves at liberty

¹ See List of Nicknames, p. xiii.

² Egerton Harcourt (1803-83), tenth son of Edward Harcourt, Archbishop of York (see p. 121). Married, 1859, Laura, daughter of Sir William Milner, Bart.

we determined upon a lark over here, & accordingly we set out & bought some beef steaks & mutton chops in the Market of Wakefield, so that we came provisioned for a sudden descent upon the astonished garrison, who however readily conformed to circumstances & gave us a capital dinner, nice clean beds, & good breakfast this morning, since which we have been to Church, & are now on the wing again for Leeds. . . .

"This place is in the greatest beauty, & the foliage richer than I ever saw it."

From the Hon. James Stuart Wortley to Lady Wharncliffe

"YORK, Monday, June 15, 1833.

" . . . I got here yesterday evening & am very comfortably lodged, & have begun well. I had a brief to day from a new client, & I have had intimations of two or three more that are to come to me—one in which Sir Joseph Copley is my client, which is very kind of him. . . .

"The report here is that the Irish Church Bill¹ is to be thrown out in the Lords, but things must be greatly changed since I left London if any such event is to be expected. . . . I hope it may be read a second time, & then they may amend it as much as they please. There is nothing which I dread so much as the expulsion of the present ministry *at this time*. . . ."

The Irish Church Bill aimed at redressing all kinds of abuses within the Church itself. Many bishoprics and even two archbishoprics were to be gradually extinguished. Where the number of Protestants was, as often happened, exceedingly small, dioceses and benefices were to be consolidated, clerical sinecures of all sorts to cease. The Appropriation Clauses, which roused such bitter passions, dealt with the money derived from these sources. The

¹ The Church Temporalities (Ireland) Bill passed during the Session of 1833, but the so-called "Appropriation Clauses" were dropped out of it.

Liberals held that it should be given for the general education of the Irish of all denominations, while many of the Conservatives—among whom was Stanley himself—considered the money should remain the property of the Established Church. As will be seen from these letters, the Bill passed at the end of the session without the Appropriation Clauses.

From Lady Wharncliffe to Lady Erne

“CURZON STREET,
“Saturday, June 22, 1833.

“ . . . I am going this morning to a little breakfast at Caen Wood, as much for the sake of the drive, as of enjoying that beautiful place in this fine weather (tho' I have some fears of rain before night). I shall however eat a sandwich there, & return early to go to the New Opera which I hear is beautiful.

“ I have not had time this morning to read the *Times*, but I heard last night at St. James's that there were curious scenes going on in the House of Commons, & that the Ministers had given up the important clause in the Irish Church Bill about the appropriation of Church property, which is a great thing at this moment, and my Uncle [Lord Bristol] who I saw & talked to there, said it made the whole difference with him in the vote he should give. Many others will I trust feel the same, & that there will not now be any danger of the Lords throwing out the Bill.

“ Meanwhile they made the Ministers 'eat dirt' in abundance last night for their weak & wavering conduct!! . . . ”

From Lady Wharncliffe to Lady Erne

“CURZON STREET,
“Monday, June 17, 1833.

“ You will like to know that John is well again tho' not quite stout. . . . He is gone this evening to his beloved Geographical Society, which meets for the last

time this Season. He has also been very busy writing a pamphlet upon Currency I believe, but it is not yet printed. What a blessing it is that he can occupy & amuse himself in such a way. He is also taking drawing lessons once a week with Missy & Lady Harriet Ryder, which is pleasant for all parties. . . .”

From Lady Wharncliffe to Lady Erne

“CURZON STREET,
“Thursday, June 27, 1833.

“I write a few lines whilst the Governor is dressing dearest Mama to tell you how well we got thro’ our presentation to-day. We went late, & owing to poor Emmeline’s dress not coming home before I call’d for her, she was obliged to follow us, & arriv’d just as the *last* people were moving on thro’ the rooms, so that the whole thing was done in *ten minutes*. After which we sat down & saw the world in an outer room. But we were an immense time getting our carriage which was a bore, & we were very tired when we got away. To-morrow she goes with me to the Queen’s Ball, & on Saturday to the Opera with the Liddells—so she has broke out in a new way. . . .”

From Lady Wharncliffe to Lady Erne

“CURZON STREET,
“Wednesday, July 10, 1833.

“. . . I got your letter just as I was going to the Opera, where Georgy & I took a box late, & she & I & John sat like *citizens* all night enjoying Pasta & Taglioni. Mrs. Siddons never surpassed the former, & nothing *human* ever equall’d the latter. . . .

“By the by I hope you will see the *Times* to-day & read how the Chancellor *butter’d* the Doge. However I must say it was very well & handsomely done, tho’ it suited his purpose. Lord Lyndhurst’s speech he says was splendid, & Brougham’s very good too. Lord

Plunkett very weak. It is unfortunate that at this moment the majority should be owing to *Proxies*. . . .

“Have you heard that Lord Milton is going to marry Lady Selina Jenkinson? and I am told it is really true. I am glad of it for they are very good girls—but it is a pity her fortune should be so wasted. . . .”

It was certainly a fine tribute which Lord Brougham paid Lord Wharncliffe. When moving the third reading of the Local Jurisdiction Bill, he expressed regret at Lord Wharncliffe's opposition to it because “his authority was most important, when it was recollected how long and how ably the noble baron had been engaged in the administration of justice. But where had the eminent character of the noble baron been formed? He would not say ‘ask the gentlemen of the Northern Circuit’, but ask any barrister in Westminster Hall, who had the highest reputation for skill, talent, and ability and purity in the administration of justice in the local courts of the country, and they would point with one accord to his noble friend . . . the Chairman of the Sessions in the West Riding of Yorkshire.”

From Lord Wharncliffe to Lady Wharncliffe

“CURZON STREET, July 20, 1833.

“You will see by the papers the result of our 3 days debate was a majority, including proxies, of 59 in favour of the 2nd reading of the bill.¹ The last day's debate was far the best, and I must say the Government had the best of the argument throughout. They were very well pleased with the division. Harrowby, Grantham, Caledon, Coventry, Wicklow & myself were the only ones who usually vote against ministers that I saw in the division with the Government; the Duke of Wellington & those who follow him, went away without voting. The Committee begins on Monday.

“I am just setting out upon my sailing expedition²

¹ The Bill mentioned here was the Church Temporalities (Ireland) Bill.

² Lord Wharncliffe had a sailing yacht, of which a painting in water-colours still exists.

with a very good prospect of an agreeable trip, and shall be back in the middle of Monday. . . .”

From the Hon. James Stuart Wortley to Lady Wharncliffe

“YORK, Monday, July 22, 1833.

“I am glad to think that by this time you will have escaped from London & be comfortably at Ingestre. By the middle of July one begins to pant for country air & a cessation from the laborious amusements of the Town. . . .”

From Lord Wharncliffe to Lady Wharncliffe

“CURZON STREET, July 24, 1833.

“I am a beast for not having written to you yesterday, but I will tell you what happened. I had written to you three sides of this sort of paper, and had only to sign my name, in the Robing room of the House of Lords, when Lord Salisbury came in, and engaged me in an argument on Thelluson’s will, which carried me without my perceiving it over 7 o’clock and when I finished and directed my letter I was told it was too late for the post. . . .

“You will see that we had a division in the Committee, to which, in fact, the Duke of Wellington ¹ was forced by his Ultra friends under pain of their not attending in future. Bristol, Salisbury, Wicklow and I would not vote upon it, and my mind was greatly relieved by finding that the Government had a majority. . . .

“I have to tell you of two marriages. Susan Liddell ² with Captain Yorke, Lord Hardwick’s nephew, and Charlotte ³ with Captain Trotter who dances about.

¹ Instead of voting against the Bill, Wellington left the House, and suffered the ultra-Tories to continue the hopeless struggle alone.

² Sixth daughter of 1st Baron Ravensworth. Married, 1833, Charles Philip Yorke, who succeeded his uncle as 4th Earl of Hardwicke in 1834.

³ Seventh daughter of 1st Baron Ravensworth. Married, 1833, John Trotter, of Dyrham Park, Hertfordshire.

"I am glad to hear you are all so snug at Ingestre, and wish myself there for the sake of your society. . . ."

From Lord Wharncliffe to Lady Wharncliffe

"HOUSE OF LORDS,

"*Friday, July 26, 1833.*

"You will see by the papers that we had a division in the committee last night upon an amendment of the Archbishop of Canterbury's, the result of which was a majority of 2 against the Government. This produced a considerable sensation, and Lord Grey immediately put an end to the Committee, saying that the Government felt themselves so situated that they must take some hours to consider whether he would go on (with) the bill, and Lord Brougham enforced this, pointing still more decidedly to the possibility of their resignation. This has, of course, filled the town with reports. but they are now put an end to by a declaration of Lord Grey, after holding out to us, in terrorem, the certainty of their resignation, if we make any material alteration in the remainder of the bill, that the Government mean to go on with it, and we are therefore now making progress, and there is a fair prospect of the Committee being over tonight. The point involved in the amendment was, in fact, perfectly immaterial, but Government chose to fancy that this was a beginning of a series of determined attacks upon the bill, which notion was excited a good deal by Lyndhurst's appearance in the House, having come from Bedford after his days' work on the Circuit was over, and meaning to return to Huntingdon in time for the opening of the Court this morning. . . ."

The clause in the Irish Church Bill on which the Government was defeated, provided that any appointment might be suspended to any benefice in which no duty had been done for three years preceding the introduction of the Bill. Once more the Ministry nearly resigned. As the amendment did not materially affect the principle of the Bill, the Ministry decided to go on with it. The Lords abstained

from further opposition. On July 30 the third reading was carried by a majority of 135 votes to 81.

*From Lord Wharncliffe to Lady Wharncliffe,
then at Ingestre*

“HOUSE OF LORDS, July 29, 1833.

“I have arranged my matters and taken my place in the Liverpool mail tomorrow night, so that I shall be with you by eleven o’clock on Wednesday morning. Pray ask Talbot to send some conveyance to meet me where he usually gets out of the mail, at Shirley witch, I believe they call it. I am in extasies at the idea of getting out of town. My two nights at Broom House makes it feel fusty and hot to a degree not to be told. . . .”

From Lady Wharncliffe to the Hon. Mrs. J. C. Talbot

“WORTLEY HALL,

“Saturday, Aug. 26, 1833.

“. . . I promised you an account of little Vicky’s adventure,¹ so will begin by that. Perhaps you have seen by the papers that they went cruising and visiting a little time back to Plymouth & the neighbourhood, & it seems that in making Plymouth harbour, by some uncertainty about the tide their Vessel ran foul of an old hulk, & for a moment or two they were in the greatest danger from the probability of their Mast falling, even if they escaped *sinking*! *Luckily* the Captain had presence of mind & seeing the first danger imminent rush’d up to Vicky, took her up in his arms, & carried her off to the fore part of the Vessel. Fortunately nothing happen’d, & they got clear of the hulk, but it was an awful moment, & John says the little creature behaved with the greatest courage & composure. Think what a fright her poor Mother must

¹ Accident to Princess Victoria. No account of the accident appeared in the *Times* until the issue of Thursday, August 15 (p. 3, col. 3), where it is said that the casualty had been much exaggerated. The account given in Lady Wharncliffe’s letter is, however, substantially corroborated by the *Times*.

have been in ! But he could tell me nothing about *her*. I suppose poor woman they were so taken up with the Princess that they *forgot* her altogether ! Does it not seem as if she was *intended* to be our Queen ? John says it was the prettiest sight in the world to see them return to Cowes, sailing thro' the Yatch's [*sic*] &c., and the Vessels being Mann'd to receive them. . . ."

From Lady Louisa Percy to the Hon. Mrs. J. C. Talbot

"NICE, Oct. 18, 1833.

" . . . Our journey has been tedious and disagreeable, although the disaster I most expected, did not befall us, cioè, Papa's falling ill again on the road. En revanche, Mama has been two or three times excessively unwell, & I am all but dead with fatigue & *starvation*—not to mention the dirt & vermin of the south of France. To confess the truth, I am afraid I do not like being abroad as well as I did—I know not whether from illness, increased stupidity, old age, or having tasted last year in the Country of the pleasures of *Comfort*, an English commodity I had luckily for myself quite forgotten. At this instant of time I envy every English dog who has a quiet kennel, & a *clean* bone to gnaw. You will think these base considerations, & indeed if I do not return to myself at sight of Rome I shall think I have *baissée* irrecoverably.

"There is little or nothing to be seen in France to compensate for the extreme badness of the roads & filthiness of the Inns. The face of the Country, even when the road runs along the banks of the Rhone, is generally uninteresting, & you know the industrious care with which the French have destroyed or defaced all the monuments of their own history & antiquity. A great number of Roman Remains still to be seen at Vienne, Valance, Orange, &c., do not console one for the loss of the former. After seeing the mightiest works of their greatest Emperors, one has small interest in the humble imitations of Prefects & Proconsuls. I must

except Avignon, which is quite beautiful. . . . All its buildings have a certain *air noble & de bon gout*, which remind one that for many centuries it was ruled by Italian Sovereigns. I clambered, tired as I was, to the platform on the *Rocher des Dons* to look at the view Lady Mary Wortley compares to Wharncliffe—more I must own out of affection to dear Wharncliffe than to my illustrious *fore-mother*. But as far as the resemblance goes was disappointed; not however in its beauty, which in a very different line is splendid. It extends over the whole of the *Comtat*, covered with vines and mulberry trees; & for a foreground you have the ancient Palace of the Popes, such as Petrarch must have seen it, the most picturesque mass of Arches of all kinds, round & gothic; huge windows, steeples & towers covered with sculpture, and conspicuous amongst them a huge round grey tower of much more ancient date than any of the rest, said to have been once the Dungeon of the Inquisition. . . .

“I think neither you nor my Aunt have any Sevignémania, so I will not bore you with a description of the ruins of Grignan,¹ which I flatter myself nobody ever saw but Mama & me; nor of my hunting out a portrait of Pauline de Grignan, which had been actually saved out of the Castle by an old servant of the Grignan family—with many other particulars of which I consider you both unworthy.

“I must tell you there are two men in France who believe the accouchement & marriage of the Duchess of Berry² to be an invention of the enemy’s—the postmaster at Nismes, & the Innkeeper at Cannes. If you

¹ The Castle of Grignan, near Montélimart, belonged to the Comtes de Grignan, one of whom married, in 1669, a daughter of Mme. de Sévigné. To her Mme. de Sévigné wrote the greater number of her letters. Mme. de Sévigné spent the last years of her life at Grignan, and died there. Her granddaughter, Pauline de Grignan, married, in 1696, Louis, Marquis de Simiane.

² The Duchesse de Berri contracted a morganatic marriage with the Comte Hector de Lucchesi-Palli. A daughter was born to her in 1833.

have not read 'La Vendée & Madame', being the history of her capture by her Captor, General Desmoncourt, I recommend it as there are some interesting details; also Ettore Fieramosca, a Novel by Manzoni's son-in-law. . . . Its beautiful style, sentiments & Characters were quite a relief to me who had been reading French novels du jour. No words can do them justice—improbable without imagination, irreligious without argument, sneering without wit, extravagant without passion, & not written in any known language. . . ."

From the Hon. James Stuart Wortley to Lady Wharncliffe

"LONDON, Nov. 2, 1833.

" . . . As to Wentworth, it both exceeded & disappointed my expectations, if I may be allowed the paradox. There was more stir & merriment going on than I looked for, & yet withall that it was not at last cheerful or agreeable. The first thing after dinner each day was a dance for the younger children nominally, but quite as much for the amusement of the grown up young ladies according to all appearances. Then we had music, in which Lady Milton¹ was the principal singer besides Lady Frances Fitzwilliam,¹ who sings also very *tidily*.

"At about $\frac{1}{4}$ to 9 we went each night to Chapel, where we had rather a full service; and from that time the cheerfulness of the evening was gone, & there being no new books about the rooms, & on the first evening not even a newspaper, it was rather difficult to pass the time. During the interval between chapel & bedtime, however, Lord Fitzwilliam² began to read aloud from one of Scott's novels, while some of the others

¹ Lady Selina Jenkinson, second daughter of Charles, 3rd Earl of Liverpool. Married, 1833, William Charles (1812–35), eldest son of 5th Earl Fitzwilliam. His posthumous daughter and only child was Viscountess Portman, who died 1899.

² Charles William, 5th Earl Fitzwilliam (1786–1857). His daughter, Lady Frances Fitzwilliam, married, 1837, the Rev. W. Bridgeman Simpson.

played at chess, a disposition of the society not likely to be very gay or lively.

"The girls seem very nice & unaffected & very merry amongst themselves, but they are shy & rather stiff, & consequently not easy to get on with. It is agreeable to see Lord Fitzwilliam with his children, for he & they seem so fond of each other, & the children so free with him & with so little apparent restraint or fear of him, that it puts him in a light quite new to those who only know him by his public character, & the apparent austerity of his manner. . . ."

From the Hon. James Stuart Wortley to Lady Wharncliffe

"LONDON, Friday, Dec. 6, 1833.

". . . The Francis Egertons¹ were at Hatfield last Saturday where I met them. She was in great beauty, & just the same as the day she married in manner & appearance. He seemed to be ate up by lawyers, agents, &c., but otherwise was in very good spirits.

"It is really true that the Duke and Duchess of Sutherland are *obliged* to build another story to York House,² & it is to be done directly. . . ."

¹ Lord Francis Egerton (1800-57), second son of 1st Duke of Sutherland. Married, 1822, Harriet Catherine, daughter of Charles Greville. Assumed surname and arms of Egerton, 1833. Raised to the peerage as Earl of Ellesmere, 1846.

² York House was later known as Stafford House, and has now once more been renamed Lancaster House.

CHAPTER XXVII

(1834)

Poor Law Reform—O'Connell working for Repeal—The Irish Tithe Bill—Death of Lord Grenville—Two strange divisions—Thunders of applause for the King and Queen—Luncheon at Windsor—Littleton and Brougham make compact with O'Connell—Althorp's resignation followed by Grey's—The King sends for Melbourne—Brougham offers young James a judgeship in India—Lord Wharncliffe moves for production of letter from Lord Wellesley—James refuses Indian judgeship—Legal gossip from James—Rejection of Irish Tithe Bill—Fire at the Houses of Parliament—The Pavilion again.

THE principal measure of the Session of 1834 was the Bill for Poor Law Reform. This measure, which did so much to improve the condition of the working classes, owed the large majority by which it was passed to the support of Peel and the Conservatives in the House of Commons, and to Wellington and many Tory peers in the House of Lords. Meanwhile, the eternal problem of Ireland was convulsing English politics. While O'Connell was moving for a Select Committee to report upon the means by which the Union had been effected—a measure which, had it passed, would have led directly to repeal—the terrorism and anarchy in Ireland necessitated the passing of a drastic Coercion Bill. At the same time, the difficulty of collecting tithes from a Catholic peasantry for a Protestant Church made it necessary, in the opinion, at any rate, of Stanley and some of his colleagues, to bring in an Irish Tithe Bill, which proposed to convert the tithes into a land tax to be collected by the Government.

It was no easy task for Lord Grey, who was already feeling the weight of years.

Though the first letters of 1834 bear only indirectly on politics, the end of the year was to find Lord Wharncliffe in the Cabinet and in the main stream of political life.

From the Hon. James Stuart Wortley to Lady Wharncliffe

“LONDON, Monday, Jan. 13, 1834.

“ . . . You will like to have a line I suppose to tell you of my safe & happy arrival. I slept at Wansford, as well as John Parker¹ who was in the same mail & a very agreeable companion. There slept also the Lord Chancellor on his way up to term, so that the sign of the Haycock was the depository of much learning on that night.

“ On Sunday we came in by another coach & arrived in all prosperity in good time in the evening. . . .

“ Lord Grenville is *dead*—at last poor man, for he has been for some time in a melancholy state, & scarcely sensible. . . .”

Since 1823, when Grenville had had a paralytic attack, he had retired altogether from public life to Dropmore, where he amused himself with literary pursuits and with the planting of his beautiful woods. The Grenvilles had played a very important part in public life ever since the time of George Grenville who was Prime Minister in 1765, when the obnoxious Stamp Act for America was passed. Lord Grenville himself had been Prime Minister in the Ministry of all the Talents. He was a firm supporter of Catholic Emancipation, and twice gave up office rather than sacrifice his principles on this subject. He had great ability, industry and honesty, but his manners were arrogant and unsympathetic. “ I am not competent ”, he says in a letter to his brother, “ to the management of men, and toil and anxiety more and more unfit me for it.” He died at Dropmore Lodge, Buckinghamshire, on January 12, 1834, in his seventy-fifth year.

¹ John Parker (1799–1881), Whig M.P. for Sheffield, 1832–52. Secretary of the Admiralty, 1841 and 1849–52. Privy Councillor, 1854.

From the Hon. James Stuart Wortley to Lady Wharncliffe

“DURHAM, Monday, Feb. 24, 1834.

“I have been again most kindly received here by Dr. Wellesley, who is luckily in residence with his family. In this way the assize court is converted into an agreeable visit in a country house. . . .

“We are all agog here with the two Strange divisions in the House of Commons on Friday night, & are full of expectations from the next post; but I suppose nothing will come of it, & by this time in London you are probably as tranquil as if nothing had happened. But is it possible that such a Government can go on? . . .”

The two strange divisions alluded to in the foregoing letter must have delighted the Tories. In the first, Lord Chandos was only prevented by a majority of 4 from carrying in the House of Commons a motion against the Government for the reduction of burdens on agriculture, while on the same evening Sir E. Knatchbull actually carried against Ministers, by a majority of 6, the reversal of an order for the appointment of a Select Committee to inquire into the conduct of Mr. Baron Smith, an eccentric judge of the Irish Court of Exchequer. The Government, which had started in 1833 with a majority of 436 to 172, had fallen low indeed.

From Lady Wharncliffe to Lady Erne

“CURZON STREET,

“Friday, April 25, 1834.

“We were at Drury Lane last night, where we had the pleasure & surprise of hearing the King & Queen received with *thunders* of *applause* & waving of hats & handkerchiefs! The days are past alas, when such demonstrations meant *simply* loyalty & respect, but we must not now be *too nice*, & it is therefore very gratifying to see any cordial expression of approbation towards the Sovereign, tho’ it may only be intended to mark that they like *him* tho’ they no longer like his

Ministers. Whatever was the reason, or the Motive, however, nothing could be more strongly express'd & there was a general appearance of excitement & good humour in the audience in all parts which made them applaud the performance *con amore*, & had altogether quite a *refreshing* effect upon us. It was perhaps the more remarkable as they came in *State* as in old times—full dress uniforms, feathers & diamonds, & all the show of royalty.

“At the end of the Play, when they stood up, the applause was renew'd as vigorously as ever, & the Queen with her usual good feeling and tact hung back a little, leaving the King bowing & receiving it all. But this was observed and she was *call'd for*, when she immediately came forward again & acknowledged the compliments, upon which the shouts & applause redoubled. At the end of the Farce was the same thing, & God save the King again. In short I have heard nothing like it since the days of George the 3rd. They looked very much pleas'd, especially the Queen, who probably had felt anxious about the King's reception, particularly at this moment.

“The Play was the old School for Scandal, admirably acted, & a modern Farce, which was equally so. . . .

“By the by, think of the Governor's surprise the other day in a Committee at the House of Lords (upon its being ask'd, who was there to appear for Lord Scarbro'), at seeing *Jem* in his wig and gown behind him, who had answer'd '*I do*'. In short he had had a brief sent him which the Governor had not heard of. It was great *fun* to both, & to some friends who were present.”

From Lady Wharncliffe to Lady Erne

“CURZON STREET,
“*Sunday night, May 4, 1834.*

“ . . . You will never guess what a lark Missy & I are going to have next Tuesday. Neither more nor

less than Lunching with the Queen at Windsor. . . . Lady Clinton had invited us long ago to drive over there when she was in waiting, that she might shew us all over the Castle. . . . I wrote to ask her if it would suit her that we should come on Tuesday . . . and in answering my Note she says that having mention'd it to the Queen, she had said that if we would be there before 2 o'clock she should be happy to see us at Luncheon herself. It is very *amiable* of her, especially as she dont know Missy at all. . . .

"Probably also we shall see more of the Castle than the mere state apartments. It was very unfinish'd in poor George the 4ths time when we went over it with him from the Cottage. I hope we shall have a fine day, that we may walk out a little round the Castle. . . ."

The King showed them over the Castle himself.

From Lady Wharncliffe to Lady Erne

"CURZON STREET,
"Saturday, May 10, 1834.

"Our Ball last night was quite as satisfactory *in its* way—but then such a difference in the way! Nothing could be kinder than the King and Queen to us both, & the King told me he was afraid he had tired me too much in going over the Castle. After supper, when they return'd into the Ball room, seeing me talking to Lady Errol he call'd her & desired her to tell me to come & sit near him, so that we staid till the end of the Ball. He was in his best style, *poor Man!* very cheerful & talkative, but not at all excited or *improper* in his conversation. Lady Cornwallis was sitting next to him, & I next to her. Amongst other things he complimented me about the Governor, who he said was the best Magistrate on the bench in all England; that he took care to make himself well acquainted with *all*; that he knew of many excellent ones, but that *he* is *pre-eminent*. As this is really I believe very near the truth, & very

generally known, it was very gratifying, as a proof at least that his services were known & appreciated. . . .

“ I told the Queen that it quite grieved me the other day to think that we had prevented her taking her usual airing after luncheon. ‘ Not at all,’ she said, ‘ for after you went we drove till seven o’clock ’—so good humour’d & unselfish ! So unlike ones *friends*, who would have thought it such a bore to have been kept at home so long after their usual hour. Whilst we were for *two hours* going over the Castle with H.M., *she* was very patiently sitting with her book in the garden ! ”

The letters which follow deal with the events which led to the resignation of Lord Grey on July 10. It was no doubt Lord John Russell who “ upset the coach ” by so firmly advocating the Appropriation Clauses of the Irish Tithe Bill, clauses which gave the surplus property of the Protestant Church in Ireland for the use of the Irish in general. Ward’s Resolution of May 27, in which he proposed that the surplus revenues of the Protestant Establishment in Ireland be applied to other purposes, brought matters to a head. Brougham proposed the appointment of a Commission to enquire into the revenues of the Irish Church and the proportion borne by her members to the population of Ireland. Stanley, foreseeing the partial disendowment of the Church, resigned, and was followed by Graham, Ripon and Richmond.

Meanwhile the Coercion Bill of the previous year, which was to expire at the close of the Session, had to be renewed. O’Connell specially objected to the clauses dealing with public meetings. Littleton and Brougham thought that if these clauses were dropped O’Connell would allow the Tithe Bill to pass. They decided, without the knowledge of the Cabinet, to put pressure on Lord Wellesley (then Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland) to advise the dropping of the clauses dealing with public meetings. The Cabinet declined to ratify any such agreement. O’Connell, furious, declared Littleton to be a traitor. Althorp resigned in disgust, and Grey, unable to carry on without him, followed his example.

From the Hon. James Stuart Wortley to Lady Wharncliffe

“ROTHERHAM,

“Wednesday morning, July 9.

“As to Littleton, my only astonishment is that he should have been allowed to remain in office till now, particularly after Lord Grey’s speech. Altogether it is a most contemptible exhibition, but I agree in wishing that Stanley¹ had been less violent, or at least more dignified in the manner of his rebuke.”

From Lord Wharncliffe to the Hon. James Stuart Wortley

“July, 1834.

“We are in a nice Mess here. In consequence of all that has been lately passing in the House of Commons, and which you must have seen in the Newspapers, the Government is broken up. Your mother says that in the letter she wrote to you yesterday she prepared you for something of moment. From what I have been able to learn, the immediate cause of all this has been the under work which has been going on about O Connel, upon the part of Ellice, Duncannon² and others. It is, I believe, true that Lord Wellesley’s³ opinions have varied upon the subject of the Coercion Bill, and that, in fact, Littleton had some right to say to O Connel that he, Lord Wellesley, did not approve of the bill being brought in with the Clauses respecting Public Meetings. But Littleton was, of course, not authorised by the

¹ The language of Mr. Stanley (afterwards 14th Earl of Derby) consisted in comparing the conduct of ministers, in respect of the many changes made by them in their Irish Tithe Bill to propitiate O’Connell, to “shoplifters and thimble rigs”.

² John William, Lord Duncannon, who became, in February 1844, 4th Earl of Bessborough (1781–1847). Became Home Secretary in Lord Melbourne’s Ministry, and Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland in 1846. He had shown himself friendly to O’Connell, and was in favour of the Appropriation Clauses in the Irish Tithe Bill.

³ Richard, Marquess Wellesley (1760–1842), eldest brother of the Duke of Wellington. At this time Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland.

Government to communicate in any way with O Connel, but on the other hand was advised and encouraged by those to whom I have alluded to do so, in order to neutralize his opposition on other matters. It is also said, but I don't know upon what grounds, that the greater part of the Cabinet were against the insertion of these clauses, but that Lord Grey insisted upon them. However, the whole thing had got into such a state, that I understand that last night they all determined to resign their offices.

"And now what is to be done? The more I think of the matter, the more satisfied I am that the difficulties in the way of forming a new administration which can be satisfactory to people of sense and reflection, and at the same time popular enough to have a fair chance of being able to manage the House of Commons, are unsurmountable. . . .

"In the mean time, the possibility of the Duke of Richmond¹ being sent for by the King has been suggested to me, and he might possibly be able to draw together a set of persons of moderate opinions more easily than any body else, but then his position, personally, with regard to the Duke of Wellington is such that I fear he will never overcome the feelings of the Dukes friends towards him, even if the Duke himself would act cordially with him, and without that the attempt would be hopeless.

"I am afraid, My dear Jem, that we moderate politicians are a very small portion of the community, and altho' I am satisfied that the prevalence of either extreme can only lead to confusion, we are crushed between them, and our very moderation renders us helpless. All History and experience tells us so, and

¹ Charles Gordon, 5th Duke of Richmond (1791-1860). A.D.C. and Assistant Military Secretary to the Duke of Wellington in Portugal, 1810-14. Although an ultra-Tory and a vigorous opponent of Catholic Emancipation, he was included in Lord Grey's Reform Ministry. From this, however, he resigned, in company with Lord Derby, Sir James Graham and Lord Ripon. He married Lady Caroline Paget, daughter of 1st Marquess of Anglesey.

yet we go on relying upon good sense getting the better of passion in these matters. . . .

“HOUSE OF LORDS, $\frac{1}{2}$ past 6 o'clock.

“Lord Grey has just made his statement of his and Lord Althorpe's resignation. There is a story going that Melbourne and the Chancellor have been with the King since the Levée. I doubt however whether any thing has been done in the way of the formation of a new Government. Lord Grey made a very good statement. The Duke of Wellington is now speaking.

“I have no more time. Let us know what you have been doing.”

On the resignation of Lord Grey the King sent for Melbourne, asking him to form, if possible, a Coalition with Peel, Wellington and Stanley. To this, however, neither Melbourne nor Peel would consent. The King then asked Melbourne to reconstruct the Whig Ministry. Althorp was induced to withdraw his resignation, and to resume his leadership of the House of Commons.

From Lord Wharncliffe to the Hon. James Stuart Wortley

“CURZON STREET, July 15, 1834.

“ . . . I have now to tell you something that has passed between me and Brougham upon your subject. A week ago, he beckoned to me to come and speak to him upon the Woolsack. I obeyed, and he began by saying that he heard a great deal of good of you. . . . He then said, ‘Would he take a judgeship in India, with a salary of 6000£ a year, and a retiring pension after 8 years’ service of 12 or 1500£ per Annum, I forget which?’ My answer was, I should think not, but he is of an age to judge for himself, and I shall not take upon me to answer for him. He then said, ‘Well tell him this, and let him think about it. There is no hurry.’

“As the resignation of Lord Grey was announced that very day, and it was therefore possible that the appointment or rather recommendation . . . to this

Judgeship might very probably fall into other hands, I did not think it worth while to unsettle your mind by communicating this to you, untill there was a prospect of Brougham's remaining Chancellor.

"You will now however decide for yourself. My answer to Brougham will be sufficient to shew you what my opinion is, but I should be very sorry if you did not exert your own good sense in coming to a decision upon this proposal without reference to my opinion.

"On Saturday Brougham spoke to me again about this, and asked me where you was. I told him that you had been at the West Riding Sessions. . . . He then asked me how you got on at the Sessions, and upon my telling him that you had made more than 50£, he said, 'Oh then he is landed'. I am thus particular in stating all this, that you may know what a person like him thinks of your prospects. . . ."

From Lord Wharncliffe to the Hon. James Stuart Wortley

"HOUSE OF LORDS, July 16, 1834.

"Duncannon is to be Secretary for the Home Department, and when we recollect the old connexion between him and O Connel the prospect for Ireland is not an agreeable one. Hobhouse succeeds him (Duncannon being to come here) in his office and seat at Nottingham, if he chooses to do so, and to be in the cabinet.

"The universal feeling seems to be that Brougham is, in fact, first Minister. If Melbourne was really to act according to his own feelings, I should think him as likely to be as safe a person to be at the Head of a Government as any other. . . ."

On July 18, 1834, Lord Wharncliffe moved in the House of Lords for the production of the letter from Lord Wellesley (then Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland) which had taken Lord Grey and his Cabinet so much by surprise. In it Lord Wellesley, who had formerly strongly advocated the passing of the Coercion Bill in its entirety, now recommended the suppres-

sion of the clauses dealing with public meetings. This letter, it will be remembered, was an answer to representations from Lord Brougham and Mr. Littleton, sent unknown to the other members of the Government, urging Lord Wellesley not to insist on the renewal of the clauses for suppressing public meetings. In the end Lord Wharncliffe, unwilling to embarrass the Government, withdrew his motion. The Bill eventually passed without the clauses referred to.

From Lord Wharncliffe to the Hon. James Stuart Wortley

“CURZON STREET,

“Saturday, July 19, 1834.

“I am rather disappointed at not hearing from you today on the subject of the Chancellor’s offer.

“You will see by the papers that I made my motion and a long speech thereon. I did it, I hope, in a way the least likely to embarrass the Government, and our people were quite agreed with me in the propriety of avoiding a division. I have indeed today received from some of those who supported the late, and now support the present Government, compliments upon the way in which I treated the matter. I have therefore done what I wanted, namely, expressed my strong opinion upon all that has lately passed, and the position in which the Peers have been placed, without doing any harm. You will see that Howick asked some very stinging questions of Littleton last night in the House of Commons. In fact all Lord Grey’s family and immediate friends are indignant at the way in which he has been treated. Brougham is universally supposed to have been the traitor, and this circumstance gives me a great fear for the stability of this Government, in which his position will enable him still more easily to take a tortuous course.

“What do you think of little Stanley¹ as Under Secretary to Duncannon!!!”

¹ Edward Stanley, 2nd Lord Stanley of Alderley (1802–69). Under Secretary for Home Department, 1834.

From Lord Wharncliffe to the Hon. James Stuart Wortley

“HOUSE OF LORDS,

“Monday, July 21.

“ . . . What do you think of Lord Holland!!! and the Chancellor having thought fit to propose, just before I began to speak on Friday, to Lord Grey that he should take the Privy Seal in this administration, which proposal was repeated since I am told by Lords Holland and Lansdowne, but this I am not so certain of. You may imagine his indignation, and more especially that of his family.

“It is said that we are to have six new peers. Byng, Burdett and P. Methuen!!! are three of these, the others I have not heard. . . .”

From the same

“CURZON STREET, July 23.

“I saw the Chancellor yesterday and told him you was very sensible of his kindness, but that you had made up your mind to take your chance of the Profession in England. His answer was, that he thought, with your prospects, that you was right.

“I have no doubt that this offer to *you* arose from the wish to catch *me*. He has shewn in all sorts of ways lately a disposition to coquet with me, and even to flatter me, which I think I estimate at its real value. In fact, however, the late events and his conduct in the House of Lords have taken a great deal from his power where his influence was strongest, and I know of no public man so much feared or so little trusted.”

*From the Hon. James Stuart Wortley
to the Hon. J. C. Talbot*

“DURHAM, Sunday, July 27, 1834.

“Your letter was a very agreeable refresher to my lagging spirit of correspondence, and although I have not replied to it with all the alacrity it deserved, it is

something that I don't let Sunday pass over without attempting an answer. Though you have not resorted so copiously as usual to *puffing* your cases in the Newspapers, you seem, by *your own* account, to have done very well up to the time when you wrote, & as you had much of your best sporting ground to come, I hope to hear of a good bag at the end.

“From our unhappy Circuit we have nothing but what is disastrous to tell. Since the middle of last century such an Assize has not been known at York. Gurney finished his prisoners and left it on the first Thursday, & if arrangements had been made for it, there would have been nothing to prevent Lord Lyndhurst¹ from following him the day after, so slender was the cause list & so trumpety the causes of which it was made up. As it was, he did nothing for the first two days, never sat later than 5, & finished with ease on the afternoon of last Wednesday, since which he has amused himself with a visit to Rokeby. This is a ruinous account, and we are told it is not accidental, but only what we are always to expect for the future. They say that all the heavy cases are, under the new system, pleaded out of court, & that the issue becomes so narrow that the parties *arrange* or *yield*, & in neither case come to Court. So these pleaders have managed to feather their own nests & clip the wings of their leaders. Pollock who has been a law commissioner too, begins to doubt the wisdom of the amendments to which he has put his hand. Lyndhurst is in great glee, & says that it is quite clear that under the new rules business will be diminished by one half, & Judgeships become all but sinecures.

“As for Lyndhurst, he spoils one for all other Judges ; so calm, so sensible, so acute, so lucid, so powerful, & yet so playful, it is a positive enjoyment to watch him do his business. On the other hand, I fear we are

¹ Lord Lyndhurst (1772–1863). Lord Chancellor under Canning, Goderich and Wellington; also in 1834–35 and 1841–46. At this moment Lord Chief Baron at the Court of Exchequer. See p. 12, Vol. II.

never likely to have him again. He was greatly disgusted at being kept at York with nothing to do, & I am told he has conceived no small dislike, not to say contempt, for some of our leaders.

"I am sorry I gave you credit in the beginning of my letter for having abandoned the disgraceful system of puffing, for on taking up the newspaper just before sealing my letters, I see a notice from Stafford pretending to state the general prospect of business there, but in reality only written to draw attention to your case, in which 'Sir J. Scarlet & Mr. Follett as well as Serjt. Wilde are we understand specially retained' &c &c. This is the puff preliminary & in a few days we shall have the cause at length. Oh! I wish we had you in Grand Court!"

From Lord Wharncliffe to the Hon. James Stuart Wortley

"CURZON STREET, Aug. 11, 1834.

"... We have passed the Poor Law Bill, cum diverse amendments, some of which are mine, but that is too long a chapter to begin now. But I will just say for the comfort of your brethren that I am quite sure that your sessions business will not be decreased by that Bill.

"Tonight we have the Irish Tythe Bill, which will be thrown out on the 2nd Reading. I have had some qualms about this step, but as I am assured from the best authority that such a course is approved of by the Irish Clergy, I have gulped them. Harrowby cant and will not vote upon it."

From the same

"CURZON STREET, Aug. 30, 1834.

"... You will see that our division on Monday was a very triumphant one. The only argument for our passing the bill, for there was literally no attempt to shew that the bill was in itself a good one, was that if this bill did not pass, the Irish Clergy would be starved,

and this would have had great weight with several of us if the Primate and Irish Bishops in London, with the exception of Ponsonby of Derry, together with the English Bishops, had not declared it to be the wish of the great majority of the Irish Clergy that the bill should be thrown out. Upon this we acted, and if it should turn out that such is not the feeling of the Irish Clergy, which is strongly asserted upon the other side, those Prelates have incurred, in my opinion, a fearful responsibility. Of course this vote has given rise to great violence upon the part of the press, and the House of Commons seems determined to revenge themselves in a way which will put an entire stop to Public business if continued. They refuse all our amendments in bills they send up to us, and today we have no less than three conferences between the Houses on the subject of our amendments in their bills, in every one of which the Commons are quite wrong. In short it looks as if we were coming fast to the dead lock which we all foresaw would be the consequence of their reform.

“I suspect that Brougham sees this very clearly, and will do his best to ‘*stand by his order*’. His speech last night referring to the Warwick bill was a strong symptom of this feeling. . . .”

Writing from Newby on October 13, James Stuart Wortley says :

“The Petres have lately left this, and think of the Chancellor constantly corresponding with Mrs. Petre while she was here ! What an unaccountable man he is ! In anybody else one would call it sheer folly, but in him it is only an additional extravagance. . . .”

From the Hon. James Stuart Wortley to Lady Wharncliffe

“LEEDS, Monday, Oct. 20, 1834.

“Is not this fire¹ dreadful ? I cannot get it out of my head, what consternation the Black Rod must have

¹ The Houses of Parliament were burnt on October 16, 1834 (*Annual Register*).

been in! I dread the new Houses or 'Chambers'; they will be so large and shewy instead of the business-like & ancient places we have been used to. Baines & the radicals here are rejoicing in the destruction of such *inconvenient* buildings, so unworthy of the *reformed Parliament* & a great nation. I cannot bear the idea of seeing these fellows lolling in more comfortable seats."

From Lady Wharncliffe to the Hon. Mrs. J. C. Talbot

"BRIGHTON, Tuesday, Nov. 11, 1834.

"You will like to hear something of my *début* at the Pavilion, which turned out very pleasant. . . . It was no Ball, so that it did not last late. . . . Her Majesty told me to follow her (after she had done her *circle*) into the centre room, where she took her seat on a round ottoman in the very middle & bid me sit down by her. 'Now', she said, 'we can rest & *amuse ourselves* with looking thro' the rooms like a Panorama.' Presently after, she made the Duchess of Montrose, Lady Surrey & Lady Clarendon come & sit with us. Augusta took her place on a little couch with two or three other Ladies.

"You have no idea how nice & amiable she [the Queen] was, & I never saw her in better spirits. We talk'd so *much* that I cannot attempt to give you a report of the conversation, but she told me a great deal about a homeopatic Doctor that she consulted in Germany to *please her Brother*. . . . We sat on talking, & looking at the people (most of whom only ventured to *peep* in at the doors) till 12 o'clock. . . . She was very much amused at the shyness of some, who *retreated* the Moment she put her *glasses up* to her eyes. In the course of the evening she said to me, 'Look behind you, at the King sitting between *Whig* & *Tory*'. And there he was on a sofa, with the *Governor* on one side, & the *Duke of Norfolk* on the other.

"I ought to have said that when first we arrived in

the circle room, nothing at St. James's could be more formidable, & both the King & Queen looked *lost* amongst the Number of unknown faces. . . . They pounced upon us, & a few more familiar faces, with evident delight. And Lady Brownlow¹ told me afterwards that in following the Queen round the room she was in *despair*, & so delighted at last when she spied *me* ! It certainly was a curious mixture, & *very* few people whose faces even one knew.

"His Majesty looks remarkably well, & was very *amiable* & goodhumour'd. We dine with them to-morrow. I should think he must be *rather agitated* today by Lord Spencer's death, for it has long been reported that the Ministry *must* break up, & this event will probably decide the question, if it is so. The Governor who goes every day to a club which he has subscribed to, says that he heard to-day from a person he meets there that the King will send for *the Speaker*² if the Ministers resign, & make him try to form a government, and the Governor thinks it not unlikely.

"I should have told you that our evening was *vastly* enliven'd last night by the Queen's Band playing the most lovely Music all the time. Some of Robert le Diable, which put me in mind of Chatsworth ! By the bye, the Queen said to me all of a sudden, ' *Now* I shall be able to do *your picture* ', to which I answer'd that I was very glad to hear it, for that I had long given it up in despair, & thought myself *very ill used*. I told her *how* I had gone to see her land, &c. This led to talk of her expedition,³ & I was quite charm'd with the simple & touching account she gave of her feelings ! She owned it had not answer'd as to health, she had had too much *extreme* happiness, & Misery, crowded into a short space

¹ Emma Sophia, daughter of 2nd Earl of Mount Edgecumbe. Married, as third wife, 1828, John, 1st Earl Brownlow (1779-1853).

² Charles Manners-Sutton, 1st Viscount Canterbury (1780-1845). Speaker of House of Commons, 1817-35. Created Viscount Canterbury 1835.

³ The Queen had recently been to visit her relations in Germany.

of time, & the last two days before she went, & particularly when she ‘*took leave of the King*’ was really like *going*! And then she made a sign as if her head was to be cut off! Then came all the pleasure of her visit at home [Germany], & then the Misery of leaving them! In short if it was not as you say for *other* advantages resulting from her expedition, & the consulting of the *homeopathic* Doctor, it would certainly have been a *grand* mockery.”

CHAPTER XXVIII

(1834)

Althorp goes to the House of Lords—King's aversion to Lord John Russell—Dismisses his Ministers—The Duke sends for Peel: carries on in his absence—His Majesty in great spirits—Brougham abused and ridiculed—Gossip from the Pavilion—Lord Wharncliffe's interview with Duke of Wellington—Death of the Duke of Gloucester—King's answer to Common Council—Lord Wharncliffe becomes Lord Privy Seal—Gladstone Under-Secretary for Colonies in preference to John Stuart Wortley—Lord Haddington Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland—The Queen of Würtemberg visits her brother, the King—Dinner at the Pavilion with all the Ministers.

SINCE the prorogation of Parliament in August 1834, two incidents of apparent unimportance led to the downfall of the Melbourne Ministry. During the vacation Lord Brougham made a kind of royal progress through Scotland. In a number of foolish and self-advertising speeches he conveyed to his audience that he controlled not only the Government but the King.

In November the death of Lord Spencer removed Lord Althorp from the House of Commons. He had led the House both in its unreformed and its reformed state. His popularity, which was immense, seems to have been due to his unshakable honesty and straightforwardness and to the evenness of his temper. His only possible successor was Lord John Russell,¹ to whom the King had an extreme aversion. Exasperated by Brougham's Scotch speeches, and determined not to have Lord John forced upon him, the

¹ Creevey, speaking of Lord John Russell, with his accustomed acidity says, "We both agree that he has an overwhelming conceit of himself, is very obstinate, very pert, and can be very rude—charming properties for the leader of such a House of Commons!"

King, on November 14, dismissed his Ministers. He summoned Melbourne to Brighton, parted kindly from him, and sent back to London by him his summons to Wellington.

The Duke, who would far rather have let the Whigs "hang" themselves, could not refuse the supplication of his Sovereign. Knowing that the battle would have to be fought out in the Commons, he advised the King to send for Sir Robert Peel, at that moment travelling quietly in Italy.

Meanwhile Brougham, untrustworthy as usual, had broken his promise to Melbourne and communicated to the *Times* and the *Chronicle* the unceremonious dismissal of the Ministry. The *Times* concluded with the words, "The Queen has done it all".

The King, furious, desired his Ministers to resign at once. He made Wellington First Lord of the Treasury, and gave him besides the Seals of the Home Office and of two other Secretaries of State. Peel returned on December 9. A week later he issued the famous Tamworth Manifesto, addressed to his constituents, in which the prevailing note was that he took office as a reformer.

From Lady Wharncliffe to the Hon. Mrs. J. C. Talbot

"BRIGHTON, Sunday, Nov. 16, 1834.

"What wonderful things have happened since I last wrote! In that letter I believe I mention'd Lord Melbourne's being come down, & now, with only one day's interval, we have had the Duke of Wellington! You may imagine what a state of excitement it has thrown us all into *here*.

"To-morrow *you* will be the focus of news, for our Sovereigns go up to Town to stay till Monday. The Governor is dreadfully frighten'd, says we are playing our last stake, & wishes the Whigs had tried again & failed, & resigned of themselves, instead of being turn'd out by the King. However much depends upon what passed between the King and Lord Melbourne, for if, as they say, the latter, in announcing the alterations likely to take place, mention'd Johnny Russell as the new

Leader of the House of Commons, I think the King was quite right to object, & say if you can do no better than that, you must all go—and the Governor admits that that would be justifiable. Still one wishes they had fairly hung themselves when Parliament met again. However many people think this is the best possible moment for trying the Tories & for a dissolution of Parliament.

“The Duke came down here for dinner yesterday, & set off again at two o’clock at night, after sending off a Messenger from *here* to Peel, who is in *Italy*! But what will be done meanwhile?

“Think of the poor dear Queen (who they are beginning to slander again) being in such utter ignorance of what had pass’d, that when she heard the Duke of Wellington was come, she ask’d in astonishment what had brought him! I wish you may see yesterday’s Standard, which we got this morning. It has a long good article, & takes up her defence warmly but temperately. I do flatter myself that the wretches will not find it so easy to injure her again this time in public opinion. There is a *very pretty* little article & *very just* to-day in Bull.

“We hear that *His Majesty* was in great spirits after Lord Melbourne’s visit, & it is certain that after he was gone the King praised him for his frank & manly & gentlemanlike conduct—but nobody suspected that he was *out*. It is funny that he actually *took up* the letter which was to summon the Duke of Wellington *down*!

“By the bye how glad our *Duke* [Duke of Devonshire] will be of this opportunity to *slip out* of his place at Court.”

From Lady Wharncliffe to Lady Erne

“BRIGHTON, Monday, Nov. 17, 1834.

“It is a long time dearest Mama since I have written strait to you, for the little I have had to tell has been as interesting to Missy as to you, but I must write you one line to night to *congratulate you* on the extraordinary

event of the last few days, & your Idol [Wellington] being once more *Prime Minister* ! As I write it I can hardly believe it, & am almost afraid to allow myself to rejoice at so wonderful & unexpected a change. . . .

“ You may imagine what a state of excitement we are all in here, & how anxiously we expect the post in the morning, & the newspaper that comes down in the evening. It is hoped that Peel may be found at Milan, & if not, at Florence. But I hardly know what to wish about his being Premier rather than our Duke [Wellington], tho’ the Doge rather inclines to it.”

From Lady Wharncliffe to the Hon. Mrs. J. C. Talbot

“ BRIGHTON, Wednesday, Nov. 19, 1834.

“ Your anecdotes about the poor ex-Ministers were delightful ! I cannot conceive any thing *much more* sore & bitter than the feeling of the Whigs at this moment, tho’ as far as one knows, they have nothing to complain of. But perhaps that only adds to their spite & also the tone of the *Times*, & the evidence that there has been no intrigue or consultation with any one. The calm not to say indifference of the Capital ¹ must put the *combe* !

“ I cannot help feeling a little sorry for the poor *Chancellor*, he is so abused & ridiculed in his fall !

“ I find Lady Jersey ² is come, & we are to meet her at dinner to day at Lord Clarendon’s. I am rather curious to hear what she will say, tho’ I think we shall have *too much*. I wonder if he will be Chamberlain again, she would go out of her wits with joy ! I do not know what effect it has produced in London, but I assure you the Governor is amazingly impress’d *with*

¹ It appears from the *Times* of November 17, 1834, that Consols had on the 15th fallen 1 per cent (to 90½) on the announcement of Lord Melbourne’s dismissal by the King. On November 21, however, the Funds had again advanced very nearly to their former level.

² Wife of George Child, 5th Earl of Jersey, and daughter of 10th Earl of Westmorland and Sarah Anne, daughter and sole heir of Robert Child, of Osterley Park.

awe at this very bold and decided step of our Sovereign's, all of his own resolving! It certainly shews plenty of firmness and discretion, for no human being suspected such an event. I quite long for a true version of the interview with Lord Melbourne, & feel convinced that the King will come out of it *quite* justified in his decision, & the manner of declaring it. . . . I cannot help hoping they will dissolve Parliament now, instead of waiting till the Whigs and Radicals have time to reflect & organize their proceedings."

Creevey writes on November 20, 1834: "Brougham continues to write daily to Sefton letters of a perfect Bedlamite. He says the excitement in London becomes more universal and intense every day; whilst Lord Grey's letters from Melbourne and others state that there never was more perfect apathy amongst all classes."

From Lady Wharncliffe to Lady Erne

"BRIGHTON, Friday, Nov. 21, 1834.

"All we hear hitherto both from London & the country is very satisfactory. But what a man Lord Durham¹ is! How annoyed poor Lord Grey must be at his almost treasonable speeches. . . . There is nothing new of course, & we must wait as patiently as *we can* till Peel comes back. The King dont return till tomorrow. The only appointment settled is Lord Roslyn's² & Sir H. Hardinge to Ireland, as Lord Wellesley begs to be allowed to come away directly. The Doge likes the new appointment very well, & says that Lord

¹ John George Lambton, 1st Earl of Durham, G.C.B. (1792-1840). On November 19 Lord Durham had made a speech at Newcastle, in which he spoke of the change of ministry as being due to Court intrigue. He advocated Household Suffrage, Triennial Parliaments, and voting by ballot.

² Sir James St. Clair Erskine, 2nd Earl of Rosslyn (1762-1837). Lord President of the Council, 1834. Married, 1790, Henrietta Bouverie, granddaughter of 1st Lord Folkestone. In the end Lord Rosslyn did not go to Ireland, Lord Haddington being sent instead.

Roslyn has very good sense & discretion, & will be well assisted by Sir H. Hardinge.

“Our Duke [Duke of Devonshire] has resigned his Key—*of course*.”

From Lady Wharncliffe to the Hon. Mrs. J. C. Talbot

“BRIGHTON, Tuesday, Nov. 25 [?], 1834.

“Altho’ the Governor is gone to Town, & will tell you all about our dinner yesterday, I think you will like to have a few more little details from *me* dearest Missy. But really it is difficult to know what to *select*, when there is nothing very interesting to relate, & a great deal nevertheless that is amusing or agreeable to oneself. The Governor will tell you what an alter’d man our poor King is, & what spirits he was in, but without any appearance of excitement. As we were waiting for our carriage in the corridor Lady S. Sidney¹ came up to me & talk’d about our prospects. *She* is always *sanguine*, & believes in what she wishes. She said to me, ‘Did you ever see such an alter’d man!’ I said it was quite pleasant to see him, especially after all he has gone thro’. ‘The fact is’, she added, ‘that he feels a heavy load taken off his mind, & that he has only done his duty.’

“The Queen was much as usual, quiet & cheerful, & as we sat round her table in the evening gave him frequent little looks, & from him, to *me*, with a smile, when he was talking away with Lady Jersey, as if she said, ‘Do you see how happy he is?’ The table was not large so that conversation could be general, & very *pleasant* we were. . . .

“Something was said about not hearing the Band well from the next room, but that it was too cold to go & sit there, upon which the King said that as I was coming on wednesday he would have *that* room lighted and warm’d to sit in. ‘And pray,’ said the Queen, ‘where am *I* to sit?’ ‘O my dear as to *you*, I dont

¹ See p. 125, Vol. II.

care what becomes of you.' This of course produced a good *laugh*, and I added to the Queen, 'Your Majesty ought not to *have heard.*' All this '*harmless pleasantry*' I tell you to shew you the ease and goodnature that reign'd.

"Soon after, I ask'd leave to get up & go to the door way to hear a particular air, & in a few moments, happening to turn my head, found *my Addy* [the Queen] close to me. It was *very* cold, & I begged her to go *back again*, but she said she did not mind it as she had put on a very warm scarf, one end of which she then took up to put over *my neck also.* . . . However I did not submit as I was warmly clothed. . . . The more I know of her the more I admire & respect her. As I hate names in black & white, I will not now tell you some of her remarks on individuals—all so sensible, sometimes funny, & never illnatur'd.

"Lord Brownlow¹ by whom I sat at dinner told me that so little idea had they of what was going on, that he first learnt indirectly thro' the servants that a room was order'd for the Duke of Wellington, the day after Lord Melbourne's visit. Lord Brownlow's room looked upon the Court, & he therefore saw him arrive before dinner in a Britska & pair, & had just time to run down & meet him in the hall! Surely we shall be protected thro' this crisis with our British King & Minister! Nobody can doubt their good intentions & courage.

"When I went to dinner yesterday, Charles, after admiring my '*swell hat*', said 'My love to *Villum* & tell him to nail his colors to the Mast!' I confess I quite *long'd* to deliver the message. . . .

"At dinner yesterday the King leans forward, & all at once says to me, 'Lady Wharncliffe, are *you* also going to Town?' 'No Sir.' 'And will you *trust yourself here alone*, & dine here on Wednesday?' Of course I smil'd & bow'd assent. The Governor was order'd to come back & dine there Saturday."

¹ See p. 207, Vol. II.

From Lord Wharncliffe to Lady Wharncliffe

"TRAVELLERS, Nov. 26.

"I have had a long interview with the Duke of Wellington & nothing can be more satisfactory than the confidence with which he treated me, and concurred with all my opinions as to what was now to be done. He shewed me all the correspondence, and minutes of conversations between the King and Melbourne upon the late occasion. But I shall reserve particulars until my return. . . .

"I have had a letter from my friend Chambers at Edinburgh, with an account of the meeting there upon the late event, which he says was a complete failure. It is quite true that Brougham has written to propose doing the duty of Lord Chief Baron, upon the retiring pension of 5000£ a year, which he is entitled to as Chancellor. . . ."

From the following letter it is evident that the candid criticism of parents had begun in 1834.

From the Hon. James Stuart Wortley to Lady Wharncliffe

"LONDON, Thursday, Nov. 27, 1834.

"I quite agree about the Governor & wish he may be discreet now. As for the future, if he is in office, which is by no means certain, I hope he will not only be discreet but abstain from the clubs altogether, for they are not places for those who have secrets to keep, unless they have features of stone as well as strict discretion. He bids me say that as I am writing he will not write, particularly as he has nothing at all to tell; and if he has nothing, you may guess that I have no news. Things continue I think to look well. . . ."

From Lady Wharncliffe to Lady Erne

"BRIGHTON, Wednesday, Dec. 3, 1834.

". . . Of course we have no wish to see *Jem* in Parliament at all, but if circumstances should force

him in, & if John should come in without effort, I cannot but confess that I should like to have two such supporters of the new Government, *my own Sons*. From the same feeling, I for the first time in my life wish to see the Doge in Office, & as I hear his name is often mention'd by those who amuse themselves in forming the new administration, I suppose it is not improbable that something may be offered him. He is now well known in public life, & as he has a character like the *Duke* for *honesty* & frankness, & very good sense & abilities, I think he might really be a strength to the Government & of use to his Country.

“This possibility does not make me the less impatient & anxious for Peel’s arrival. I hear Mr. Hudson¹ has been heard of from Milan on the 22d, so that it is impossible that Sir R. Peel can be here from *Rome* till Tuesday or Wednesday Sen’night.

“I am very anxious to hear something more about our poor Duchess of Gloucester,² & mean to write to-morrow to enquire what accounts Princess Augusta has had of her. I fear she has suffer’d *great* fatigue, as well as grief. It seems he was quite resign’d & composed, & settled all his affairs a day or two before he died. I really feel quite *touch’d* at his death, & have heard nothing but his *praises* since his life was *despair’d* of!

“Ant’ you *delighted* with the King’s answer to the Common Council?”

On December 2, 1834, the Lord Mayor and Common Council presented in person an address to the King, complaining of the reappointment of Ministers who had denounced and opposed the Reform Bill. The King, who received them in great state, replied, “It has been and ever will be the object of my earnest solicitude to correct abuses,

¹ Sir James Hudson (1810–85). Private Secretary to William IV. In diplomacy. G.C.B., 1863.

² Mary, fourth daughter of George III., married her first cousin, William Frederick, 2nd Duke of Gloucester and nephew of George III., who died 1834.

and to improve the condition of the country. I trust that the Ministers I may appoint will, by the successful prosecution of this the first wish of my heart, justify my confidence, and obtain that of my people."

From Lady Wharncliffe to Lady Erne

"BRIGHTON, Friday, Dec. 5, 1834.

" . . . I wonder how you *inland* people feel, for *here* we are all complaining of the heat of the house. All our fires were out till dinner time, and yet we are too hot now that they are just lighted again. What puzzles me is, that tho' the Sun has been out all day, (& certainly hotter than it usually is at this season) yet the air was fresh & reviving. The beauty of the sea & sky these last two days, for about two hours before sunset especially, is really not to be described. Neither Nice or even Naples can exceed the lovely coloring & clearness of the atmosphere. I certainly never remember any thing like it before at this place, & I am going to buy a *paint box* for the express purpose of attempting to give a *literal representation* of the view from our windows during the last week. . . .

" This morning I met William Bathurst in the street, who came down yesterday on a visit to his Mother. He brings no news from Town. He says that Peel is hardly expected before the 14th. They have heard from young Hudson from Milan, & his report of the *roads*, independent of his having to proceed to Rome, make it clear that the journey cannot be perform'd as expeditiously as at a more favorable time of the year. We must therefore make our *patience* last a little longer. . . ."

From Lady Wharncliffe to Lady Erne

"CURZON STREET,

"Friday, Dec. 12, 1834.

" Your paper will probably tell you dearest Mama that Lord Stanley has refused to join the new Govern-

ment. He has written a long letter, with all his reasons, but nobody knows more at present than the bare fact. It has caused very little surprise, as the Whigs for the last few days have been very *pert* & expressing themselves confidently upon the subject.

From Lady Wharncliffe to Lady Erne

"CURZON STREET,
"Saturday, December 13.

" . . . There is still nothing more known, but we conclude a good deal *must* be known before night.

"I am afraid Stanley's *vanity* stands in the way of his Patriotism. However after all perhaps the new Cabinet will be more united without him. And as 'Measures, not *men*' is the cry just now amongst all reasonable people, there is little fear I think of their not doing enough to satisfy *almost* all those who are worth considering. And if the great Whigs behave well, all will be well. Just now I think their joining with radicals to influence the elections *against* the Tories is most unprincipled, in the face of their professions of *fear* of the Radicals & Lord Durham. . . ."

From Lady Wharncliffe to Lady Erne

"CURZON STREET,
"Sunday, Dec. 14, 1834.

"I hope dearest Mama that you will not be *un-*pleased to learn that our fate is seal'd, & that *we are in Office* ! It seems to me *so* odd, that I dont know how to believe it. I am unable however as *yet* to tell you *what* the Office is to be, which is odd enough considering that the Doge has received his Summons to attend at St. James's at two o'clock to-morrow to be sworn in a Privy Councillor. He *thinks* it will be Admiralty or Colonies, as the Home Secretary is to be given to Goulburn we *believe*. He dined with Sir Robert yester-

day, with the Duke, Lord Aberdeen, Lord Ellenborough, Lord Rosslyn, & one or two more I now forget, but nothing was announced to him; tho' he heard afterwards from one of the party who brought him home what the probable arrangements were.

"You will be glad to hear that Peel has written to John to tell him to come to Town as soon as he can, but without saying what he is intended for. They have also written to Lord Haddington, which I am very glad of, on public as well as private grounds.

"Our prospects are good at present, as Lord Stanley & Sir J. Graham seem to have express'd themselves very satisfactorily as to their reasons for refusing Office, & their future conduct. The Doge had also a long & friendly conversation in the street with the Duke of Richmond today, which he says was as satisfactory & straightforward as possible as to their support of Government, but this of course is not to be talk'd about at present. . . ."

From Lady Wharncliffe to Lady Erne

"CURZON STREET,

"Monday, Dec. 15, 1834.

"The Doge did not return from St. James's today in time for me to write to you by the four o'clock post as I wish'd to do dearest Mama, that I might be beforehand with the paper in announcing to you his having kiss'd hands as *Privy Seal*. At first we were all rather disappointed, because he wish'd for an Office where there was something *to do*; but he now consoles himself by thinking how much more he will be his own master, & that he will be able still to be a great deal at Wortley, & so continue to keep up his intercourse with the county. There is much satisfaction in this view of the thing, & after all the Office in itself is quite *suited*, & he will I am sure be a valuable member of the Cabinet. Altogether we are well pleased *this* evening, & much amused with the novelty of the whole thing.

“ I am much provoked to find that he has *no* privilege of *franking*, or any other that we can think of. I have however thought of one which concerns Myself & which I value as it deserves, which is the carriage *entré* at the Drawing rooms. I can’t say how I have always envied *that* advantage.

“ When he kiss’d hands to day the King said to him, ‘ I can never forget what I owe to your family ’. And in presenting him with the Seal added, ‘ *I* cannot hold it on my own hand, but long may it remain *in yours* ’, alluding to the weakness of his hands & the great *weight* of the Seal, which is solid silver, as we learnt when the Doge brought it home. . . .”

From Lady Wharncliffe to Lady Erne

“ CURZON STREET,
“ *Wednesday, Dec. 17, 1834.*

“ It is almost twelve o’clock dearest Mama, & the Doge not yet returned from his first *Cabinet dinner*, so I think I can wait no longer for the chance of news, which would probably only be some new appointment. Lord de Grey¹ has refused to go to Ireland, which we are very sorry for; & Lord Salisbury has also declined being Master of the Horse, which report says to-day is given to Lord Milton.

“ Our accounts from John continue favorable, but his *most* doubtful canvassing is to come. I must give you comfort about his *old* Office, which he no longer wish’d for as his interest in it had ceased since the settling of the East India Question, & when Lord Ellenborough spoke to the Governor about it, he express’d his great regret for his *own* sake that he was not to have John under him again, but said he had reason to think *something better* was intended for him. But

¹ Lord de Grey (1781–1856). This was the elder brother of the Earl of Ripon. The two titles became merged in Lord de Grey’s nephew (son of Lord Ripon). Lord de Grey became First Lord of the Admiralty under Peel in 1834, and Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, 1841–44.

this of course you will not mention, as it was quite confidential. If they should give Lord Haddington the Colonies, it would be very nice if they would make John the *Secretary*. Nous verrons. Still nothing is settled about the dissolution.

“The Cabinet dinner to day is at Lord Lyndhurst’s, a long way off.”

From Lady Wharncliffe to Lady Erne

“CURZON STREET,
“Friday, Dec. 19, 1834.

“. . . I had a visit to day from *our Duke* [Devonshire] & the Cliffords. He was really *very* amiable to *us*, but evidently full of old *genuine Whig* bitterness. He would talk about the present state of things, & wound up by saying the Governor was the only man in the present Government he cared about, & *therefore* he was very sorry to *see him in it*, & this because he is convinced it cannot last a minute after Parliament meets.

“I felt quite *flat* when he went away, for if people can take such very different views of things, what confidence can one feel in ones own! However we hear that Peel’s address has made a good sensation in the City, & it is expected that the dinner will be an immense one—& *there* he will have an opportunity of repeating his Sentiments, & adding any thing more that may occur to him since the newspapers’ remarks upon it. . . .”

From Lord Wharncliffe to Lady Wharncliffe

“CURZON STREET,
“Tuesday, 5 o’clock.

“John’s affair is at last concluded, and his connexion with Office entirely at an end. He received yesterday evening a note from Peel to say that Aberdeen and he had found it necessary to settle who should be the

Under Secretary of State, with a view to the management of the Colonial Department in the House of Commons, and had fixed upon Mr. Gladstone, now a lord of the Treasury, for that situation. He went on to state that he wished that John would not break off all connection with the Government, and pressed him to take the Lordship of the Treasury vacated by Mr. Gladstone. John took till today to consider this proposition, and to consult with us and with Sandon, and this morning he has announced to Peel that, upon the whole, he thinks it right to decline acceding to it. The Chief reason for his doing so is that the retaining such an office would be too much like a desire of holding office merely for the sake of its emoluments, if he did so without a seat in Parliament, and upon the whole, altho' I did not advise his refusal of it, I think with that feeling he stands upon higher ground by having done so. . . ."

From Lord Wharncliffe to Lady Wharncliffe

"TRAVELLERS', 6 o'clock.

"I dont know how you could doubt who was to be the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland,¹ after what had passed the evening before you left London. His Excellency will go down with me tomorrow evening to Brighton, and will be named and kiss Hands at a Council to be held there on Monday. You will therefore desire Wallis to bespeak a bed and sitting room for him at the Albion. He will dine with us on Sunday, and I mean if possible to get the Chancellor who goes down Sunday morning to do so likewise.

"I know of nothing new but that Charles Wynne is to have the Dutchy of Lancaster, but whether with Cabinet or not I dont know.

"As they cant set off till after the Cabinet tomorrow it will probably be late before we get down. . . ."

¹ Lord Haddington. See p. 102, Vol. II.

From Lady Wharncliffe to Lady Erne

“BRIGHTON, Saturday, Dec. 27, 1834.

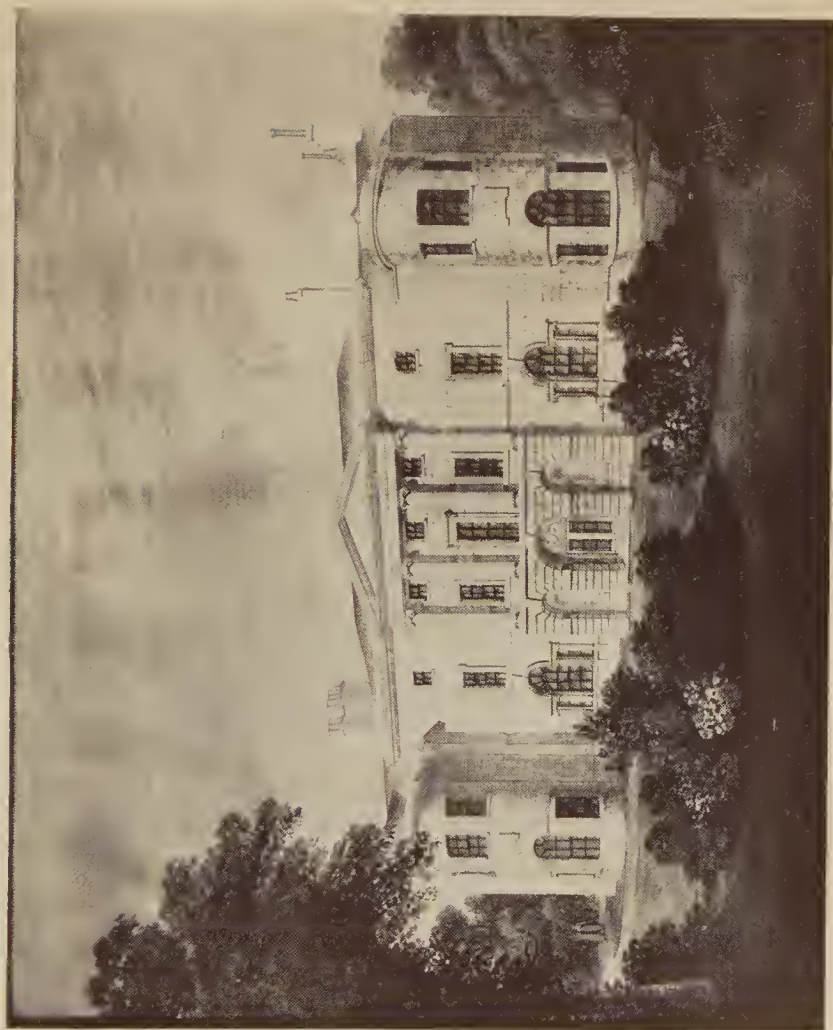
“I had a letter from the Governor this morning, saying that his *Excellency* the *Lord Lieutenant* is coming down with him to night, & is to kiss hands at a Council here on Monday. Can you believe *Binning* Viceroy in Ireland! He has so capital a help in his Secretary Sir Hy Hardinge that I have no doubt he will do very well, as my *only* fear is a want of decision from *over* anxiety & fear of doing wrong. But as for good & sound understanding, earnest desire to do right, & unshaken resolution in executing whatever he thinks his duty, nobody I am sure would surpass him. And I am very confident that his honest straitforward & gentlemanlike conduct will before long be discover'd by the Irish, & duly appreciated. I am only sorry we have not a better *Lady* Lieutenant to send! However in *these* times that is a secondary question. I did not know that the appointment was actually *made* till the King told me so yesterday. I as a matter of course wrote my name at the Pavilion on Thursday, & yesterday got a card inviting me to dinner the *same day*. It was the more kind as I was the only strange Lady.

“I found there Charles Wynne come down to kiss hands as Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, which I did not know of before. We had also Lord Ripon,¹ who was very agreeable & in very good spirits, from which I augur well. There were some other male strangers besides.

“About ten o'clock Somebody came up & whisper'd the King, upon which he jump'd up, saying, ‘The Landgravine² will be here in $\frac{1}{4}$ of an hour,’ & rushed out of

¹ Lord Ripon (1782–1859), Frederick John, 1st Earl of Ripon. Tory M.P. for Carlow borough, 1806, and Ripon, 1807. Created Viscount Goderich, 1827. Prime Minister, 1827–28. Created Earl of Ripon, 1833. Lord Privy Seal, 1833. See note, p. 221, Vol. II.

² Elizabeth, third daughter of George III. (1770–1840). Married Frederick, Landgrave and Prince of Hesse-Homburg, who died 1829.



NUMBER 15 CURZON STREET (WHARNCLIFFE HOUSE), ABOUT 1830

From a water-colour in the possession of the Earl of Wharnccliffe.

the room to be ready to receive her. Soon after another gentleman announced the carriage coming up, & the Queen & Princess Augusta then went out also. In a few minutes more in walk'd his Majesty with dear old *Elizabeth* on his arm in her *travelling bonnet* as fresh as if she came from Worthing, having left *Calais* at five o'clock in the morning, & being so impatient to get to the King that she came on strait from Dover as soon as she could after she landed. They have been expecting her these two days. She is very large, & infirm on her legs, but quite well & apparently not tired. She was *in extasies* at finding herself again in England. It was really quite a pretty little scene of domestic affection, & poor dear Princess Augusta was scarcely less happy herself.

"The King desired me to come & dine there again on Monday after the Council, so I suppose I shall meet all my dear *Tory Ministers*. I really feel now as if a great weight was taken off my mind, & that we were saved from some unseen but inevitable danger! Had we gone on with the *last* people, I really believe we should have ended with civil war. The King has really shewn himself 'a Briton' as Charles says, & has now nail'd his colors to the Mast, & I hope will have his reward & the support of all good people.

"I shall add a line before I send this to-morrow. Good night dearest Mama.

"Sunday. The Governor arriv'd alone last night, but tells me that I am to be honor'd to-day by the company of the new Lord Lieutenant,¹ the Chancellor,² & the President of the Council,³ at dinner! It does seem all like a dream!

" $\frac{1}{2}$ past 7. All our company are *come*, except the Chancellor, who however is coming. I shall not have time to add anything *after* dinner. . . ."

¹ Lord Haddington. See p. 102, Vol. II.

² Lord Lyndhurst. See pp. 12 and 203, Vol. II.

³ Lord Rosslyn. See p. 213, Vol. II.

From the Hon. James Stuart Wortley to Lord Wharncliffe

“HALIFAX,

“*Saturday, Dec. 27, 1834.*

“ . . . Lord Haddington’s appointment is in some respects a good one, but I dread the freezing effect of Poll’s manners. . . .”

From Lady Wharncliffe to the Hon. Mrs. J. C. Talbot

“BRIGHTON,

“*Wednesday, Dec. 31, 1834.*

“ . . . How I wish you had been present at our great dinner here [the Pavilion] last Monday! I don’t know when I have felt so comfortable & cheerful. All the Ministers & people who came also for the Council staid dinner, *except* our *Hero*, who was obliged to go back to Town. Several other Men of the party—Officers, a Bishop & Dean, besides a few who had come for St. Andrew’s day, which was necessarily defer’d till the next. No woman, except Mrs. G. Dawson¹ & myself. We were altogether about 70 people I believe. For the *first* time since I have dined at the Pavilion we went into dinner with the Band playing *God save the King*, & for the first time also the King’s health was drunk after dinner, every body standing, & then the Queen & Royal family.

“ There was a sort of calm & rational joy apparently diffused all over the company that was quite delightful, & made me feel as if I was at the *last scene* of a great Melodrama when the ‘*Tiranno*’ is kill’d, & all ends happily, with a grand scene well fill’d & illuminated!

“ The dear Queen made me come & sit by her on the Couch after dinner, between her & Princess Augusta, & so I had a great deal of talk with her, & some very interesting & satisfactory. They of course are *all* very happy, but not one word have I ever heard escape any of them like a reflection upon *any* Member of the late

¹ Mary Georgiana Emma, daughter of Lord Hugh Seymour. Married, 1825, George Lionel Dawson (1788–1856), third son of John, 1st Earl of Portarlington. He assumed the surname of Damer in 1829.

Government, or an *angry* expression about the *past*. And certainly nothing could be more moderate than their language about the future. They really are perfect in their conduct.

“ Lord Ripon & the Duke of Richmond were of the party, & certainly look’d quite at their ease & cheerful.

“ The Governor dined with the King again yesterday at the St. Andrew’s dinner, & had to return thanks for the health of the *English* Peerage, which he flatter’d himself he did *very well*. . . .”

CHAPTER XXIX

(1835)

James stands again for Halifax—Music at the Pavilion—Rowdyism at Halifax election—The Landgravine visits her family—Dinner at the Lyndhursts—Battle of the Speakership: is won by the “vile Whigs”—The battle of the Address—Lady Wharncliffe’s first Cabinet dinner—The Government beaten again—Tories not cast down—Description of Buckingham Palace—The Malt Tax—Division in favour of Government—James’s first speech in the House of Commons—Ticklish state of the Government—The Lichfield House compact—The Harrowbys sit at home on Sundays—Government again defeated, April 2, on Irish Church Bill—Another defeat on April 3—Whigs busy preparing new Ministry—Resignation of Peel—The “Old” Cabinet dine at Curzon Street: “very jolly and agreeable.”

THE opening of the year 1835 finds the elections everywhere in progress. Parliament had been dissolved on December 29, 1834. John Stuart Wortley was fighting a losing battle in Forfarshire, while James, once more contesting Halifax where three candidates were fighting for two seats, was destined to come in for the second seat by a majority of one. In the East Riding of Yorkshire, Paul Beilby Lawley Thompson, of Escrick, afterwards Lord Wenlock, and the father of James Stuart Wortley’s future wife, came in unopposed as a Liberal, with Richard Bethell as a Conservative.

The result of the elections put an end to any hopes which the Whigs might have entertained of at once driving Sir Robert Peel from office. It brought an addition of more than a hundred members to the Conservative party, exclusive of Lord Stanley and his party and of those Radicals

such as Mr. Cobbett, who preferred to be considered an independent.

Nevertheless the Conservatives, although the strongest single party in the new Parliament, were hopelessly in a minority when the other parties (Liberals, Radicals and Irish) chose to combine. The Liberals, forgetting all that they owed to Sir Robert Peel and the Conservatives, and still smarting under their high-handed dismissal by the King, had no scruples about joining the more violent section of the Opposition.

From the Hon. James Stuart Wortley to Lady Wharncliffe

“HALIFAX, Jan. 1, 1835.

“ . . . I am going on very well here, but it is no certainty, as I don't count a majority of more than 40 in my calculations. . . .

“ You seem to be *very great* people now, & the papers are full of your movements. You must excuse me if I don't treat you with all the respect due to you, & appear to be neglectful in not writing often enough, because I have more to do than I can really find time for.”

From Lady Wharncliffe to the Hon. Mrs. J. C. Talbot

“BRIGHTON,

“Sunday, Jan. 4, 1835.

“ . . . Nobody really seems to be able to tell or guess how the elections generally will go, but yesterday I heard one or two encouraging things as to the despondency of the Whigs. *They* also say we shall not gain more than 120, but if they allow that, probably we shall have many more.

“ We dined at the Pavilion yesterday. . . . When we went in to dinner the King call'd out to the Governor who was at the other end of the room, ‘ Lord Wharncliffe will you take in the Queen ’. The poor Governor, in his first surprise & shyness, said, ‘ me Sir ! ’ and the King answer'd ‘ certainly my Lord, you are Privy Seal, & go before everybody.’ Cant you see & hear it all ?

The Queen smiled, & the Governor looked amused in the midst of his confusion. He of course sat next her, and he told me afterwards that he was quite charm'd with her. He had never had much conversation with her before, & had no idea how pleasing & agreeable she was. After dinner she made me sit by her on the Couch again. But after listening to the Band for some time she ask'd me if I should mind going with her into the next room (where it played) as Sir A. Barnard¹ said it was *not cold*. Of course I went, & we sat on a Couch at the end of the room, with the *King* (who follow'd us) in a nice sort of *demi jour*, there being no light in the room than what was for the Band. A few more of the ladies ventured in, & sat at a *distance*. The Queen & I enjoy'd the music thoroughly, & had moreover *much* conversation. The result of which was if possible to raise my opinion of her in *every way*. I had also some *fun* with her, & nobody enters into it better. . . ."

James Stuart Wortley had not had an easy victory at Halifax. A correspondent writing to the *Times* on January 12, 1835, says that he went in "against the fiercest opposition perhaps ever recorded in the annals of electioneering. . . . The most violent placards have been circulated by the Yellow party. . . . Yesterday evening, when they found they were going to be defeated, an immense body of Radicals and Whigs (for the latter were quite as anxious to return Mr. Protheroe—there was no doubt at any time of Mr. Wood's² success) rushed through the streets, armed with bludgeons, stones, crowbars, etc., and demolished the windows and furniture in the houses of the leading men of

¹ Sir Andrew Barnard, K.C.B. (1773–1855). Served in the Peninsular War. Wounded at Waterloo. Became Lieut.-Governor of Chelsea Hospital, 1849.

² Charles Wood, afterwards 1st Viscount Halifax (1800–85). Liberal M.P. successively for Grimston, Wareham and Halifax; later, in 1865, M.P. for Ripon. Secretary to Admiralty, 1835, and also later held the offices of Chancellor of the Exchequer, First Lord of the Admiralty, Secretary of State for India, and Lord Privy Seal. Created Viscount Halifax, 1866.

the Blue party. . . . The Magistrates immediately sent to Dewsbury, and two troops of the 17th Lancers, under the command of Captain Keane, speedily arrived; and to their presence the individuals who had the courage to vote according to their consciences are indebted for their security.

"Nothing could exceed the excitement of the scene during the latter part of Wednesday; the Whigs brought three electors from their sick beds, and one of the patients has already died in consequence."

From Lady Wharncliffe to Lady Erne

"BRIGHTON,

"Friday, Jan. 9, 1835.

"I hope that Missy will have written you word of Jem's success dear Mama before you can get this letter. . . . We are however very anxious for further accounts; for the poll has been so near that the majority is only *just* enough, and as some say it is three, & some only one, the truth is still to be made evident. The best proof however of his victory is the fury of his opponents, who have broken the windows of his Committee room, & of poor dear Musgrave's house where he was living. To-morrow we shall hear further particulars. . . .

"The election here is over to day, only one radical (Wigney) is come in. . . . The Governor is in great spirits about the elections generally, & says that even where Tories are beat, the reaction of feeling is proved by the severe struggle it costs the Whigs & radicals. This is very consoling & reassuring. . . .

"Franking begins again from to-morrow, but the Governor has had no privilege of franking or even *receiving* letters. I think it is a shame. . . ."

From Lord Wharncliffe to Lady Wharncliffe

"FOREIGN OFFICE,

"Jan. 13, 5 o'clock.

"I dine with the other Ministers at the Duke of Wellington's tomorrow to meet the Duke of Leuchten-

berg,¹ and he goes the following morning to Brighton, and so shall I. Last night I dined with Algy Greville with Henry, and afterwards went for an hour to Lady de Grey's.

"I dont hear anything to tell you. At the Carlton Club they told me that the intelligence received to-day about the Elections is good, but I suspect they dont reckon upon getting more than 280 members in the whole upon whom they can really depend. In mean time the Whigs talk very big indeed and hold out that they mean to turn the Speaker² out of the Chair, and by so doing prevent us from laying before the country in the King's speech what we mean to do. I hope they will follow this course, as if anything will arouse the feeling against them that sort of violence will. . . ."

From Lady Wharncliffe to Lady Erne

"BRIGHTON,

"Thursday, Jan. 29 & 30, 1835.

". . . I am once more ask'd to dine at the Pavilion, & when I expect at last to take my leave of my dear kind *Sovereigns*. I am sure if all Royal families were like ours . . . it would at once account for the love that all people are supposed to have for a *Court*. . . . All I can say is that in all the circle of my friends & acquaintances, I know of *no family* where there are *four* such sisters³ (including the Queen) as compose ours. . . .

"I never till now knew the Landgravine personally, & certainly none of the others surpass her in warmth of heart, good & right feeling, & general kindness & benevolence. I sat by her for some time last night

¹ Augustus, Duke of Leuchtenberg, son of Eugène Beauharnais by Princess Augusta of Bavaria. He married, 1834, Donna Maria, Queen of Portugal. He died March 1835. She married, 1836, Prince Ferdinand of Saxe-Coburg.

² See p. 207, Vol. II.

³ Actually three sisters of William IV. and their sister-in-law, Queen Adelaide. The three sisters were the Landgravine of Hesse, the Duchess of Gloucester and Princess Augusta.

after dinner, & amongst other things she talk'd of her own good fortune in having such *sisters*. As for her 'dearest *Mary*' [the Duchess of Gloucester] she adored her. . . . It would do you good to see how *very* happy she is here, & at having arrived at such a moment! She told me before that when she last left England she had determined never to *return* & witness the degradation of the Country, but when she heard of her sister's distress she would not allow a selfish feeling to prevent her coming over to be of what comfort she could, & before she could *arrive* the intelligence reached her of the happy change of ministers! You may imagine her joy & gratitude to *Heaven*! And to find her dear William acting so boldly & honestly, *after*, as she left him, being a tool of the *Whigs*! She is quite a dear. . . ."

From Lady Wharncliffe to Lady Erne

"CURZON STREET,
"Saturday, Jan. 14, 1835.

"I dont remember whether I told you that we were to dine with the Chancellor, to meet the *Lord Mayor* & *Lady Mayoress*. I believe you know that I have no dislike to dinners, tho' I hate parties, & in the present state of things such events are more than usually amusing & interesting. We had there our Duke, the Duke of Cumberland, Peel, Lord Aberdeen, Mr. Baring, Lord Hill, Pozzo¹ (who is a love of mine), & one or two more official people. The only women besides myself were Lady Burghersh,² the Lady Mayoress, who is a very sensible good sort of woman as I found after dinner, Lady Peel & Mrs. Baring. I fell to the lot of my other love the Chancellor, as the Royal Duke took out Lady Burghersh & the poor Governor had to take out the Lady Mayoress & sit by her. Lord Rosslyn was my other neighbour, who certainly is *not* amusing, but luckily not loquacious. I was quite happy with my *Lyndhurst*.

¹ See p. 197, Vol. I.

² See p. 194, Vol. I.

“After dinner I had a tête à tête with the Lady Mayoress on a sofa, & when the Men came up his Lordship join’d us, & I was much pleased with the good & rational sentiments of both, & with their account of the decided change of feeling, especially in the Country, that they have experienced, having a place in Kent, where *all* their tenants had voted *right* this time, whereas at the last election they could not have influenced any.

“Before we went home we went for a short time to Mrs. Damer’s, having pick’d up John & Georgy in Grosvenor Square, & found a nest of Whigs, & amongst them Lord Durham! All private friends of the Damers. It was rather disagreeable. However I must say Lord Durham was very civil & *mild*, & he & the Governor were quite *loving*, owing I believe to some *coal* intercourse they have often had, & in which Lord Durham shew’d his confidence in him.”

From Lady Wharncliffe to Lady Erne

“CURZON STREET,

“Sunday, Feb. 15, 1835.

“. . . No news of the *Speakership*. Both sides talk confidently. However the bets to day are rather in our favor, & upon the whole the Doge feels confident. . . . At all events it [the result] will not move *Peel*, who will stand a great deal of beating before he resigns, & if he once gets a fair start, there seems to be little danger of his not going on—indeed one of the arguments for this *Whig trick* is, that if they dont *try* to turn him out now, he will be ‘in for the *next ten years*!’

“Good night dearest Mama. I am sorry not to make more of a letter, but I have really nothing to say. Lady Harrowby came to Town yesterday. The *Vice Queen*¹ dined with us again to day, & he is coming over next week to take his seat, & carry her back.

¹ The new Government had appointed as Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, Thomas, 9th Earl of Haddington. He married, 1802, Maria, only child of George, 4th Earl of Macclesfield.

You have no idea how improved she is by her honors, she seems quite determined to do all that is *proper*. . . .”

The Government put forward Sir Charles Mannors Sutton for re-election as Speaker, while the Opposition were determined to have James Abercromby, who had been Master of the Mint in Lord Melbourne's Government.

From Lady Wharncliffe to Lady Erne

“CURZON STREET,
“*Thursday, Feb. 19, 1835.*

“We are all in a state of excitement to day, as you may suppose dearest Mama, at having *at last* reached the *day* of Battle. It seems by no means sure which party will win, but the Whigs have so disgraced themselves that they will be unable to do us any serious harm, even if they should succeed *today*. And Sir Robert Peel said to Lord Harrowby the other day, after talking about the Speakership & the possibility of defeat, ‘but it will be but a *flea bite* after all’. He is in great spirits, & confident of ultimate success, which is *half the battle*, as it gives confidence to his friends & party.

“My *dinners* are beginning. On Saturday we dine with the Tankerville's to meet Sebastiani.¹ His wife is you know Lady Tankerville's sister, & very pleasing. I knew her very well at Paris. Next Thursday we dine at *the Duke's*, & Wednesday the Cabinet dinner is to be *here* (how funny), & I am to be allow'd to preside because, as the Commons will be all too busy to attend, the Doge means only to ask the *Peers* in the Cabinet, but except Lady de Grey they happen to have no wives, & unless she comes, which I doubt, Georgy & I shall have all the men to ourselves, and the noble Lords will talk over their affairs after we leave them.

¹ Mauro Sebastiani (1772–1851). Corsican soldier, served under Bonaparte. After the return of the Bourbons he became Ambassador at Naples, 1834, and in London, 1835. Had great ability and charm.

I think instead of sending my letter at four, I shall keep it for the chance of news till to night.

"7 o'clock. I grieve to finish my letter by telling you that the vile Whigs have won by a majority of ten—it is too bad & disgraceful. Lord Stanley made an excellent speech, & is as stout as possible with *us*. *All* the reason & argument was on our side, but the Radicals had absolutely insisted on their members *pledging* themselves to vote against a Tory *Speaker*, for that was the only ground upon which the whole thing stands at last, finding that no case could be made against Sutton.

"It is the most disgraceful act ever committed by any party, & not over creditable to the House of Commons, or English character. We shall now see how they will behave upon the address.

"Adieu dearest Mama. I am *boiling over with indignation*, though not much surprised, for it was known to be now *very near*. . . .

"The Doge & his sons are out of spirits."

From Lady Wharncliffe to Lady Erne

"CURZON STREET,

"Friday, Feb. 20, 1835.

"I am a little more happy to day dearest Mama, as I went to a *very* small party at Lady Salisbury's¹ last night, where of course there were nothing but Tories, & I found them tho' vex'd & annoy'd not *discouraged* by last night's proceeding. There is an excellent article in the *Times* this morning which I hope you will read. The Whigs I find look uncommonly *flat*, & some of the reluctant voters quite uneasy & evidently annoy'd, for both the Governor who went to hear the debate as well as John & Jim, who *took his seat*, agreed in the observation, & of course kept their eyes constantly turned

¹ Frances Mary, daughter and heir of Bamber Gascoyne, of Childwall Hall, Lincs, married, 1821, as first wife, James, 2nd Marquis of Salisbury, K.G. She was the mother of the great Marquis of Salisbury.

towards that side of the House to watch their countenances & manners. Nothing could be more flat than their cheers, whilst *ours* were as good as our *arguments*, & all the best speaking was also on our side. I heard last night that several independent Whigs declared that it was only to satisfy their constituents that they voted for Abercromby, but that *after* that vote they should consider themselves quite free to vote as they thought best upon the measures brought forward by the Government. . . .

"Lord Dudley Stuart,¹ who is a *strong Whig*, made a very honorable speech, & voted *with us*. Lord Surrey² & Lord Euston³ I believe also, but *our three* said they did not see them. . . . Stanley's speech was excellent, & as strong as possible in our favor. . . ."

From Lady Wharncliffe to Lady Erne

"CURZON STREET,

"*Saturday, Feb. 21, 1835.*

" . . . I went to Lady Peel's⁴ last night, but I think all our people were in better spirits than the day before. The *address* will be the next battle, but nobody supposes it can move the Ministers—on the contrary, the belief is that Peel will act *Pitt* over again, & back'd as he is by the King, he will stand or fall by his *measures*. . . .

"I am happy to hear however that such facts will come out against O'Connell⁵ on the Dublin or Kerry

¹ See p. 178, Vol. II.

² Henry Granville Howard (1815–60), eldest son of 13th Duke of Norfolk.

³ Henry Fitzroy (1790–1863), eldest son of 4th Duke of Grafton.

⁴ Julia, daughter of Sir John Floyd, Bart., married, 1820, Sir Robert Peel, 2nd Bart. (1788–1850).

⁵ Daniel O'Connell (1775–1847). Called to the Irish Bar, 1798. Reputation for legal ability and unrivalled power of cross-examination. Worked for Catholic Emancipation ; formed the Catholic Association to deal with grievances of Catholic peasants. Elected M.P. for Co. Clare 1828 ; having refused to take the oath of supremacy was not allowed to take his seat ; was again returned unopposed for Clare. Was arrested 1831 for evading proclamations ; the prosecution, however, dropped through the influence of English reformers. Took part in the Lichfield House Compact. Founded the Repeal Association, 1840. Was

Petition as will destroy him for ever, & make it impossible for the Whigs to go on with him in any way as an ally. It is bad enough as it is already. As you say, it is sad to see ones friends acting with *such* allies !

“ The Duke I find did *not cheer*, which I am glad of. Jermyn¹ did come up in time, & I took him & Lady Katherine to Lady Peel’s last night. The defaulters on the Speaker’s night were mostly Whigs. . . .”

The Whigs, forgetting that Peel as leader of the Conservative Opposition had, in the most public-spirited manner, supported the greater number of their measures, and unable to forget the King’s summary dismissal, were set on revenge.

From Lady Wharncliffe to Lady Erne

“ CURZON STREET,
“ *Sunday, Feb. 22, 1835.*

“ The *Whigs* are *desperate*, but some of them are already affronted at being supposed to have any connection with O’Connell, which is a symptom in our favour.

“ Meantime I met our *naughty* Duke at the Tankerville dinner yesterday, & he was so very kind and amiable that I forgot his sins for the time, & promised to go to Devonshire House tomorrow evening to meet a Chatsworth party. . . .

“ *My Cabinet* dinner does not take place till *next Wednesday*, whilst the Commons are still busy with their debate, and the Thursday after we dine with our Wellington, a grand *foreign Minister* affair. The Vice Queen has been dining here to-day. She expects Lord Haddington on Tuesday. . . .”

arrested 1844 on a charge of creating discontent and disaffection, and sentenced to a fine of £2000 and a year’s imprisonment, but liberated on judgement being reversed on appeal. Made his last appeal to the House, February 1847, for the constant distress in Ireland. Went abroad for his health, and died at Genoa.

¹ Frederick William, Lord Jermyn (1800–64), eldest son of 1st Marquess of Bristol. Married Katherine Isabella, fourth daughter of John, Duke of Rutland.

From Lady Wharncliffe to Lady Erne

"CURZON STREET,
 "Thursday, Feb. 26, 1835.

"I am this instant come home from my Wellington dinner dearest Mama, and must write you a few lines before I go to bed to continue my bulletin¹—this is the third day. . . .

"She desires me to give her love to you, & to tell you that she shall be delighted to see you any day next week, & to shew you her little *conservative*. We were much touched by the Queen sending a servant to enquire how she & the child were going on. And since then the Duchess of Kent has also sent, & this morning I have receiv'd a letter from the Landgravine which I must send you to-morrow, it is so kind & amiable, & she desires I will call upon her.

"There is no news as yet from the House of Commons, but we cannot help *hoping* that we may have a small majority. However it does not much signify in fact, & Sir Robert Peel's speech was so admirable & so universally admired, that it is supposed the Opposition will not be able to go on opposing him, & that Lord Stanley & a few of his followers will entirely support us.

"We had a very pleasant *Cabinet dinner* here yesterday, & the Chancellor said he wish'd it could be settled to have alternate Cabinet dinners with the Ladies, as they were so much pleasanter. . . ."

From Lady Wharncliffe to Lady Erne

"CURZON STREET,
 "Friday, Feb. 27, 1835.

"I send you the dear Landgravine's kind letter, which I received yesterday evening, & of course rush'd to her to-day, & was let in. She is quite a *chip* of the *old block*, & so amiable & sensible in her way of talking that I was delighted with her. She desired me to go to her

¹ Mrs. J. C. Talbot's son, John Gilbert, was born February 24, 1835.

again, & yesterday she saw the *Governor*, & told me the King was always pleased to see him & talk to him because he spoke to him *openly*, & he had confidence in his opinions.

“ We were rather disappointed again last night, but it makes very little change in our position, & the Whigs dont know what to do with their triumph, & look very grave. . . .”

In the debate on the Address in answer to the King's Speech the Government were in a minority of 7.

From Lady Wharncliffe to Lady Erne

“ QUEEN STREET,

“ *Saturday, Feb. 28, 1835.*

“ The Governor has just returned from having been present at the receiving the address. He thinks the King's answer very firm & good.

“ We are not *cast* down tho' rather disappointed at the last division. You should remember that *your Pitt* stood as much & *more*, & succeeded at last, & that in these reform'd times much opposition must be expected & disregarded before a Minister resigns, otherwise nobody could remain in office but the Ultra Radicals. The Whigs are too bad, but I hear they look *low*, & in fact what can they do? We look forward to better results when the new measures are brought forward, so dont despond.

“ If you come next Thursday you will *see us* all dress'd for Court. It is true that the Whigs expected 30 or 40 majority till the last day.”

From Lady Wharncliffe to Lady Erne

“ CURZON STREET,

“ *Friday, March 6, 1835.*

“ I hope these high winds will subside before our poor Lord Lieutenant & *Poll* perform their passage! but yesterday & to-day have been *absolute gales*.

“ We had a very brilliant Ball at Lady Brownlow’s last night, at which were present both the Landgravine & the Princess Augusta. They seem’d much amus’d poor dears, & I find staid there till between *two & three* this morning. I dont know whether I told you that I was to go by appointment this morning to the Queen at 12 o’clock to be taken by her to Buckingham Palace.¹ Princess Augusta went with us, & two or three more Ladies of the Household. The Queen took me in her carriage with the Princess Augusta & Lady Mayo. We spent an hour & half going all over & about the Palace, & nothing can be more delightful than the *private* apartments. The State rooms above are a good size, but full of bad taste in the ornaments, which surprises me, as they were all George the 4th’s taste, or at least they had his sanction, & I always thought he had good *taste*, but certainly he has lost his character in that House. It is not nearly ready for them.

“ Just before we left St. James’s the Queen sent in to the King to say she was going, in case he wished to speak to her, & turning to *me*, said in her *facetious* way, ‘ I dare say he will like to get a *peep at you* ’. Accordingly he desired her to go to him, & then opening the door of his Closet, he ask’d us all in. We found him & Sir H. Taylor shewing the Queen some new *caricatures*, which are excellent. But it was funny looking at them with him, as he was *himself introduced* into one of them, & very like.

“ There has been nothing of interesting going on to-day in either House, but there is to be a great meeting about the Malt tax to-morrow—it is a most difficult question.”

¹ Speaking of Buckingham Palace, Creevey says (vol. ii. p. 307): “ It has cost a million of money, and there is not a fault that has not been committed in it. . . . Instead of being called Buckingham Palace, it should be the ‘ Brunswick Hotel ’. The costly ornaments of the state rooms exceed all belief in their bad taste and every species of infirmity.”

From Lady Wharncliffe to Lady Erne

“CURZON STREET,
“Thursday, March 12, 1835.

“The division ¹ the other night & the *effect* of Peel’s speech has indeed been glorious, & I hear to-day that the motion for to-morrow about the supplies is *given up*, the Whigs being divided among themselves, & some not choosing to go quite so far as others.² . . .

“Indeed we are for the present in good heart, & the Whigs evidently low & disconcerted. We saw them all at Devonshire House last night.”

From Lady Wharncliffe to Lady Erne

“CURZON STREET,
“Tuesday, March 17, 1835.

“I must write you a line to night dearest Mama to tell you that our *Jem* has been making his first speech in Parliament. It was short, but as we hear from somebody else, *very good*. It was upon the Dissenters’ Marriage Bill, which Peel brought out to night. I am delighted at his having got over his first essay & succeeded so well. At the same time I don’t at all wish he should speak *often*, nor does he wish it himself. I long for the report of his speech in to-morrow’s *Times*.

“Jem says that Peel spoke *beautifully*, & his measure was very well received by the whole house. This *début* in our reforms is a great comfort, & the Duke is quite in spirits. He is much better to night, & was able to go down in his carriage to day to the Cabinet, & afterwards to the House of Lords. He did not dine with us, but came down again in the evening.

¹ The division on the Malt Tax in the House of Commons on March 10, 1835, was in favour of the Government, who obtained a majority of 192.

² In the House of Commons Mr. Joseph Hume had given notice of a motion to limit to three months the votes of Committee in Supply. Finding, however, that the Whigs were many of them unwilling to support him, he decided with regret to postpone the motion. “I do so”, he said on March 12, “with a view to proposing a subsequent motion tending to show decisively that the House has no confidence in His Majesty’s Ministers.”

“The poor Haddingtons had a most dreadful passage of *12 hours* ! the deck under water the *whole* way.”

The following letter is undated, but appears to have been written towards the end of March 1835.

From Lady Wharncliffe to Lady Erne

“CURZON STREET, *Saturday*.

“I have just had a visit from John Creighton,¹ who has been about a week in London. He really is a very pleasing gentlemanlike man. The Governor came in, & we had a long talk about Ireland which was very interesting, as it is evident that a new light is by *very slow degrees* breaking in upon the people, many of whom are beginning to *question* the authority of their *Priests*, & are eager to get the Scriptures to read, especially in districts where *native Irish* is spoken, & where they will read it in *that* language, tho’ in English they have a prejudice against it, as being originally Saxon. This is very curious, as it seems that their only wish is to *ascertain* what was the primitive Christian doctrine by reading the Scriptures themselves. There is I find a Society in Ireland for printing the Bible in the Irish language, & it is doing more good every day ; but of course its operation is slow.

“You will be glad to hear that *Gong*² & *Missy* and their Baby are gone to day to Tunbridge for a little holiday and fresh air. The wind is still East, but not so bad as usual, & the temptation was great, as that dear little body the Duchess of Buccleuch,³ who is there for her own health, invited them down, having a house in which she could lodge both them & their child, & to her of course their visit will be most acceptable. . . .”

¹ Afterwards 3rd Earl Erne ; born 1802, died 1885.

² See List of Nicknames, p. xiii.

³ Lady Charlotte Anne Thynne, daughter of 2nd Marquess of Bath. Married, 1829, 5th Duke of Buccleuch.

From Lady Wharncliffe to Lady Erne

“CURZON STREET,
“Thursday, March 19, 1835.

“You will like to hear dearest Mama that since I wrote to you the Doge met our *Premier* at a Cabinet, who complimented him upon *Jem’s little speech*; & in answer to a question he ask’d him with respect to his qualities as a speaker, Peel said, ‘There can be *no* doubt of his being a debater’. This is very satisfactory praise from such authority, & as he is in Parliament & certainly has ambition, I cannot but wish him to distinguish himself.

“You see poor ‘*Poll*’ [Lady Haddington] has had her first Drawing room, & has been received *enthusiastically* by *her people* on her entrance into Dublin. She is to write to me, & I long to get her letter & account of all from herself.

“The Doge’s gout is much better tho’ he cannot walk without difficulty. But he contrived to go to his Cabinet dinner yesterday at the Chancellor’s, & has been with us this evening to Covent Garden, in the *Queen’s box*, which I ask’d for in consequence of her kindly desiring me to do so whenever I wanted it.

“I am afraid we must prepare ourselves for a continuance of this odious wind & *yellow air* for some time to come. It is quite orthodox this time of year, & must come sooner or later.”

The Whigs, with their Radical allies, had not the smallest intention of giving Peel a fair trial. His statesmanlike measures of reform met with no sympathy from his opponents. He tried to purge the Church of its abuses, and to remove one of the grievances of the Dissenters by providing for the celebration of their marriages. He tried to lay the foundations of an Irish Tithe Bill, and at the same time proposed a commutation of tithes in England. He tried to grant a Charter to the University of London. But the Whigs would have none of these. Their answer was to form

an alliance with the Radicals and the followers of O'Connell. This alliance was known as the Lichfield House Compact.

From Lord Wharncliffe to the Hon. James Stuart Wortley

"HOUSE OF LORDS,

"*Friday evening, March 27, 1835.*

"I think you will be glad to hear from me under present circumstances. Nothing can be worse or more ticklish than our state. The vote of last night upon the University of London is in fact an attack upon the prerogative.

"Tonight Hume¹ is going to move that the Army estimates shall be referred to a Committee upstairs, and we shall resist it. If we are beat, it is difficult to say how we shall be able to keep the Government together. . . .

"From what I have just heard from a Whig Peer, I suspect that Hume will not make his motion to-night, as the Whigs think it better to have the question of the Irish Church disposed of before we are driven out, so that they may be able to [tell] Stanley that that question need no longer be an obstacle to his joining in the formation of a new Government under Melbourne, with Grey in the Cabinet as I conjecture."

From Lady Wharncliffe to Lady Erne

"CURZON STREET,

"*Sunday, March 29, 1835.*

"We are just come home from a very snug evening at the Harrowbys. They sit at home every Sunday, & any of their friends drop in. To-night there were only two or three; Count Pahlen (who you remember at Wortley), one of the Hopes, Henry Greville, who dined with us & went with us, & Lord Aberdeen. How I wish one could have a little more of that sort of Society in London—*that*, & small dinners are the only agreeable things to be done.

¹ See p. 80, Vol. II.

“We are of course much occupied about the proceedings to-morrow in the House of Commons.¹ The Doge says they are to come to no positive decision as to what they shall do, but he thinks some speeches will be made which will *work* the opposition. Nevertheless if Ministers are beat by a large majority it is possible they may resign, & the more so as the Whigs certainly do not *wish* it *yet*. However nothing is decided, & the debate will probably last two nights at least. I think the opposition has lower’d itself so much that even if they *did* turn us out, they would find it very difficult to keep their places when they had got them.

“I am *very* sorry for the poor King, whose situation will be cruel if the Whigs are again forced upon him! But I hear he is still very stout about not submitting to them, & Lord Grey even is indignant at their junction with O’Connell. And Lord Howick was not at Johnny’s dinner yesterday, nor some other strong whigs—vedremo! At any rate we stand very high in conduct, & the Whigs very low.”

From Lord Wharncliffe to the Hon. James Stuart Wortley

“HOUSE OF LORDS,

“Thursday evening, April 2, 1835.

“... *We are in better spirits*, altho’ we shall, still, in all probability, be beat, but I mean as to the consequences of that beating. The debate up to last night has been entirely in our favour & has produced some changes of opinion, so much so as to lessen the majority against us considerably.

“I was very glad to hear from John’s letter to his wife that you was too busy to write. This comforts me greatly under any circumstances. . . .

“Stanley spoke admirably last night, and Follet the

¹ On Monday, March 30, Lord John Russell asked the House to resolve itself “into a Committee of the whole House to consider the temporalities of the Church of Ireland”. The Liberals thought that a motion on the Irish Church afforded the best hope of decisively defeating their opponents.

night before. It is quite evident that the Dilly¹ are quite separated from the Whigs, and that of course suggests that they must look to *other connexions*.

"It is supposed that the debate will end to night, but I don't think that *absolutely* certain."

On April 2, 1835, the Government were defeated on a resolution moved by Lord John Russell with regard to the Irish Church Bill. Speaking of this debate, Greville says: "I am much inclined to think that the debate on the Irish Church question will eventually damage the Whigs not a little. Their speeches this year might all have been answered by their speeches last year on the same subject. Nothing can be so glaring as their inconsistency and factiousness."

From Lady Wharncliffe to Lady Erne

"CURZON STREET,
"Friday, April 3, 1835.

"I don't wonder you are disgusted with your newspaper to day dearest Mama, tho' we were perhaps still more so, as for the last two days we heard that the Whigs themselves thought their majority had melted down to 10 or 12. But the *real* one turn'd out to be exactly as they before expected—it was [not] much longer ago that they hoped it would be as much as 50. What comforts me is, first that Peel had determined *not* to go out upon last night's vote, and secondly, that if he *does* go out afterwards, it will be with such honor to himself, & injury to his enemies, that he will satisfy the Country & stand higher than ever in public opinion. It is quite curious to hear how the opposition itself *admires* him! & yet they do everything to turn him out, tho' they have no idea how to form a government of their own! It is really like a nightmare, & one sees no escape from it!

¹ Dilly means the followers of Lord Derby. A nickname taken from a joke of O'Connell's referring to the well-known lines in the "Anti-Jacobin":

"So down thy hill, romantic Ashbourn, glides
The Derby Dilly, carrying six insides."

“The Doge was with the poor King just before dinner, who kept him talking a long time. He says he is as stout as a Lion—very much annoy’d, but only anxious to do whatever is thought right. I am glad to find he means to stay in Town just now. It is much better that he should be in the way, & he says poor man that he lives in a constant anxiety & fidget at Windsor, having only written accounts of what goes on, & that he thinks of nothing else *night & day*. . . .”

From Lord Wharncliffe to the Hon. James Stuart Wortley

“TRAVELLERS $\frac{1}{2}$ p. 6.

“*Saturday, April 4, 1835.*

“I have nothing good to tell you. We were again in a minority last night, upon a question of adjournment to be sure, but still the majority was increased from 33 to 38, and to all appearance John Russell was the minister and managed the House of Commons. No ministry can go on in this way, and altho’ we may, from a sense of duty, carry on the contest a little longer, I fancy the battle is lost. But we shall see.

“The address to the King communicating the resolution respecting the Appropriation of the Surplus is, we hear, abandoned by John Russell, and you will also see that he refused adding words to the resolution, declaring that the surplus should not be applied to any other secular purpose.

“The Whigs are said to be busy preparing for the formation of the new ministry in which Brougham is *not*, and Campbell *is* to be Chancellor, Spring Rice Chancellor of the Exchequer, and John Russell Secretary for Foreign Affairs. Palmerston to go to Paris, and Granville to be President of the Council. Denison says Lord Grey is to be at the head of the Government, but I suspect Lord Spencer, who is at Wooburn where Ellice is gone to meet him. . . .

“The address in the City is said to be going forward with great spirit.”

From Lord Wharncliffe to the Hon. James Stuart Wortley

“TRAVELLERS, 6 o'clock,

“Tuesday, April 7, 1835.

“I write one line just to tell you that the scene is almost over. We have determined to await the event of this night's division in the House of Commons upon John Russells resolution¹ for forcing into our Tythe bill the provision for carrying his principle into execution, and, unless we can see something more flattering in our prospects than appears now, we shall break up tomorrow morning.

“The scene in the House of Commons was too bad last night, and we shall, I suspect, see the only feeling for the House of Commons become one of contempt and disgust; but there they are, our masters, and everything in this country is at their mercy.”

From Lady Wharncliffe to Lady Erne

“CURZON STREET,

“Wednesday, April 8, 1835.

“I wish I had anything pleasant to tell you, dearest Mama, but at least you will not be surprised to hear that Peel has acted up to his declaration of resigning if beat again last night. They had a Cabinet this morning, & Peel & the Duke of Wellington have since been with the King.

“The Doge is just returned from the *Lévée*, & passed the Chancellor going in to him. There is to be the *old* Cabinet dinner here to day, & the Governor says they shall be very jolly & agreeable at it. The fact is, it is impossible for men to stand higher than they do at this moment, & nobody can possibly guess what will be settled *next*, or how *soon*; for if the King makes his

¹ Lord John's proposal was that any surplus which may remain after fully providing for the spiritual instruction of members of the Established Church in Ireland ought to be applied locally to the general education of all classes of Christians.

objections, they may find it very difficult if not impossible to form a ministry.

“ The next few days will be very interesting & curious. I dont despair of better days yet. Mean time the good feeling in the Country encreases, & addresses come thicker, so that we shall see what the real opinion for us is.”

CHAPTER XXX

(1835)

Peel's triumphant exit—Lord Wharncliffe sees the King—The Tories in tearing spirits—John Stuart Wortley asked to stand for West Riding—Row between Lord Alvanley and O'Connell—O'Connell's son fights duel with Alvanley—The King will have no balls or dinners—John is defeated by Morpeth—The "flare up" in the House of Lords—Corporation Reform supported by Peel—The Whigs look flat—Queen Adelaide at the Play—The King and Queen return to Windsor—A quiet walk—James Stuart Wortley is employed in important case—An unexpected night at Windsor : the Queen's night clothes—Peel comes to rescue of Government—James dines in Whig circles.

PEEL had at last accepted defeat. He had been in office four months only, and during the six weeks since the meeting of Parliament he had been defeated six times. Yet in their hearts the Liberals must have approved the measures of this most Liberal of Conservatives. It was a Liberal who said of him that never did a statesman enter office so triumphantly as Sir Robert Peel left it. It was from his own side that Peel had to encounter sneers and criticism. But in these Lord Wharncliffe and his family did not join. Their attitude was one of unwavering loyalty.

From Lady Wharncliffe to Lady Erne

"CURZON STREET,
"Wednesday, April 8, 1835.

"In the midst of our misfortunes, it will be some comfort to you to know dearest Mama that Peel's *exit* is more like a *triumph* than a beating. We have heard this evening from some House of Commons men (one of them a Whig too), that nothing could be more perfect than Peel's little speech today announcing their resignation,

& that the whole of the *opposition cheer'd him vehemently*, not a cheer of exultation, but of undisguised admiration! And several Whigs were expressing individually their opinion of his extraordinary talents—in short, as it was impossible for him to carry on the Government as it was going on, in the power of so factious a majority, he is in the next best position for a statesman, that of a person whom *everybody* now looks to as the *fittest* to govern the Country, & it is therefore reasonable to hope that we shall see him in again before very long, tho' not perhaps with exactly the same colleagues. I believe however he is *determined* to make common cause with the Duke of Wellington, which is quite right. It was reported this evening that Lord Grey had been with the King, but it is not true. He will probably be sent for to-morrow, but what can he do ? . . .”

From Lady Wharncliffe to Lady Erne

“CURZON STREET,

“*Saturday, April 11.*

“The Doge is just set out for Pontefract, & has taken *his Seal* with him, as he obtain'd leave thro' Sir H. Taylor to do, as it was not expected that there would be any *immediate* necessity for *formally* giving it up. This looks as if the new arrangements were not expected to be *easily* or *rapidly* concluded.

“The Governor has been to one or two Clubs this morning to collect news, but heard none. The impression however seem'd to be that great difficulties were in the way of any arrangements, & that all attempts would *fail*. What a triumph if it should prove so! But I am afraid of being sanguine!”

From Lord Wharncliffe to Lady Wharncliffe

“HOUND HILL [WEST RIDING],

“*Saturday night, April 11, 1835.*

“I have behaved scandalously I admit in not having written to you all the week, but I have been in court

every day from 9 to 6, and today till 9, in order to get the business finished. Tomorrow John and I proceed after Church to Wortley, where I mean to remain Monday, and set off early on Tuesday morning, so as to be in London on Wednesday for fear my seal should be called for by that time. I don't at all feel, however, from the accounts of what is going on, that it is quite certain that these rogues the Whigs will after all form any government which the King will take. . . .

"I have great pity for the poor King, and the predicament in which he is placed, with the probability of his having forced upon him Brougham as a Chancellor, whom he thinks mad, and John Russell, whom he must think a rogue. . . ."

From Lord Wharncliffe to Lady Wharncliffe

"CURZON STREET,
"Tuesday, April 14, 1835.

"I have just time to write to you two or three lines to say that I am here, and have delivered my seal into Little Johnny's hands by the King's directions.

"I left John at Wortley. A meeting is to be held on Thursday at Wakefield, which is to decide whether he is to be brought forward against Morpeth, who you know has vacated his seat. I dread his being so, but the feeling is so strong that at all events he should be shewn to the Riding as the candidate looked up to by the Conservatives, that I could not throw entire cold water upon the scheme. His return to London will of course depend upon the decision of that meeting.

"I have written to Herbert Taylor to say that I wish to have an audience of the King, and begged him to ask what time it would be convenient for me to come to Windsor for that purpose tomorrow. It is said that he is coming to London on Thursday, in which case he may appoint me here on that day, but otherwise I shall be at liberty to do as I like after tomorrow, but what

use I shall make of that liberty I don't yet know, probably to run down to you on Saturday. I am rather curious to see the scene of our first acquaintance after so many years.

"I have not yet had time to pick up much about the Government, but all I do hear makes me think that nobody is satisfied with it. . . ."

From Lord Wharncliffe to Lady Wharncliffe

"Wednesday evening, April 15, 1835.

". . . I am to see the King tomorrow at St. James's as he comes to town, and the next day I mean to go down to you, so bespeak me a bed room.

"There is nothing new. I have seen Peel, Lyndhurst, and some of my former colleagues, all of them in tearing spirits, and the only melancholy people seem to be the new ministers. Nothing is talked of in the town but the Devonshire and W. Riding Elections. The former seems very flattering, and, as to the latter, nobody will hear of John's not being put forward. But I trust to his own prudence not to embark in it unless he can see his way.

"God bless you till Friday."

Lord John Russell had been defeated for the county of Devonshire. Lord Morpeth was standing against John Stuart Wortley in Yorkshire. Lord Alvanley, who had asked Melbourne in the House of Lords what were the exact terms of his compact with O'Connell, was attacked with great violence by O'Connell, who spoke of him as a bloated buffoon. Alvanley then sent him a message demanding an apology or "satisfaction". O'Connell would grant him neither. His son Morgan, however, was too true an Irishman to tolerate with patience such a position for his father. He offered to take his father's place. At a private meeting of Alvanley's friends it was decided by his own vote that the duel should take place. Three shots were exchanged, but no injury was done to either of the duellists.

From Lord Wharncliffe to Lady Wharncliffe

"CURZON STREET,

"Thursday evening, April 16, 1835.

"I saw the King today, and have taken my place in the Coach for tomorrow evening, so that I shall be with you by $\frac{1}{2}$ p. 6 or 7. I will tell you all that passed not only between me and the King, which was very little, but between me and Melbourne, which was of importance, when we meet.

"As soon as the news of Morpeth's having accepted office arrived in Leeds, the Tories met, began subscribing, and placarded the town announcing that John would be called forward as a candidate [for the West Riding], so that he is fairly in for it, whether he will or no. . . ."

From the Hon. James Stuart Wortley to Lady Wharncliffe

"LEEDS, Sunday, April 19.

"You will have heard daily or almost daily from the Ex-Keeper of the Privy Seal during his stay at Pontefract, & I hope therefore that you will have excused me for not writing, as I could have given you no intelligence beyond what he has sent to you. I had a very busy week at Pontefract, & made a very satisfactory harvest.

"The formation of the Melbourne Ministry rather takes people by surprise, as the delay had almost taught them to consider the difficulties as insuperable.

"I hear that O'Connell has gone over to the Treasury benches, and if so, I shall have unqualified pleasure in taking my place in opposition."

From Lady Wharncliffe to Lady Erne

"CURZON STREET,

"Tuesday, May 6, 1835.

"We have had a very pleasant little dinner & evening party, & were all in good spirits as you may suppose about Devonshire. The Haddingtons, Lord

Aberdeen & Captain Saurin dined with us, & afterwards came Lord Lyndhurst, Lady Harrowby & Harriet, Mrs. Dundas, & Lord Rokeby. The Haddingtons are quite delighted with Ireland, as they may well be, for nothing was ever like their popularity & the regrets at their departure.

“The Devonshire & Yorkshire elections, & Lord Alvanley’s duel fill up the present moment of Parliamentary *Slumber* which would be otherwise unbearable. An express has been sent down to Yorkshire with the account of yesterday’s Poll (which is consider’d as Johnny’s defeat) in the hope & belief that it will powerfully assist our cause by influencing the 3000 & *odd doubtful* votes. I shall not feel quite happy till tomorrow’s account comes from Devonshire with the *final* result of the Poll—tho’ I am told that it is absurd to feel any doubt, & the Whigs themselves give up the game as *lost*! It is a most important event that’s certain, & nobody can exactly foresee the consequences; but nothing would surprise me less than a breakup of the Ministry. But I dare not hope any thing so good.

“I paid a long visit to our good Duchess of Gloucester today, who looks *uncommonly* well. We talk’d of course of all that has been going on, & she told me she had never seen the King so distress’d & low as he was at the change of Ministers. He & the Queen have been quite ill with all they have suffer’d. They are however better now & are resigned. But the King declares he will have *no* Balls or dinners in Town this spring, which I am very glad of. He has no objection to its being seen that he is dissatisfied & out of spirits.

“The Duchess inquired much after *you*, & was as kind & amiable to me as usual. . . .”

John Stuart Wortley was beaten by Morpeth in Yorkshire by over 2000 votes. Lady Wharncliffe writes in deep dejection to her mother:

"CURZON STREET,
 "Tuesday, May 13, 1835.

" . . . It is quite inexplicable, except by supposing *intimidation* to a great extent, which is suspected, & that a radical *mob* of *non*-electors terrified our poor friends from coming to the poll ; & no wonder I am sure ! I only wonder they are ever prevail'd upon to run such a risk, unless prompted by unusual excitement & zeal of their own. The accounts of S. Staffordshire are very good, but what can one trust to !

" Johnny is to come in for Stroud, & Cupid¹ for Poole. The Doge was at Peel's great dinner yesterday, & says he has been at many a one of the same kind, but never before saw *such* enthusiasm. How capital his speech was in all respects ! The Duke's too was quite like himself, & I delight in the bold & hearty manner in which Peel *links himself* for ever with his great colleague. It ensures *both* coming in if this Government breaks up, & one could not have endured *the* Duke being set aside to facilitate any new arrangements, tho' he himself would be ready to do it if it was useful. Peel however has all along declared, I believe, that they are *inseparable*.

" I shall go to the Drawing room on Thursday, but it will be a melancholy duty.

" Good night dearest Mama. We *must* not *despair*, as *Peel does not*."

The "flare up" in the House of Lords spoken of in the next letter was occasioned by Lord Wellesley's resignation of the Lord Chamberlainship. On the return of Lord Melbourne to power, Lord Wellesley had written to him offering to go for the third time as Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland. Melbourne, having decided for various reasons to send Lord Mulgrave, declined, and offered Wellesley the White Wand. Meanwhile Lord Mulgrave, considered by the Irish, rightly or wrongly, to be hand and glove with O'Connell, was given

¹ A nickname for Lord Palmerston, who, at that time, was not in the House of Lords.

on his arrival in Dublin a truly Irish reception. Flags with "O'Connell for ever!" "Repeal of the Union", "Harps instead of crowns", shocked the feelings of Lord Mulgrave's colleagues in the House of Lords. Lord Harrowby in his speech said that he would rather have exposed himself to be torn to pieces by the same Dublin mob than to have entered the City in such a procession.

Lord Wellesley was pressed to explain his resignation of office, which had followed immediately on the news of the Dublin procession. While refusing to give any reason for his resignation, he denied its having any connection with the events in Dublin. Nevertheless, it was noticed later on in the debate that he cheered Lord Harrowby's very strong expressions.

From Lady Wharncliffe to Lady Erne

"CURZON STREET,
"Saturday, May 23, 1835.

"You see they had a little '*flare up*' in the Lords last night, in which Ministers cut a sorry figure. The Doge says that he never heard Lord Harrowby speak better, & so said Lord Haddington, who was here this morning. It was short, but all that was necessary, & *excellent*. And the curious thing was that *Lord Wellesley* was *cheering* him all the time! Not very pleasant for Ministers. In fact he proved by his *silence* that the explanation of his resignation was pretty nearly what we all thought before.

"Next Tuesday will it is expected produce an animated debate on Irish matters. Nothing could be more vague & weak than the answers of the Ministers in the House of Commons. *Can* such a Government stand!

"Last night we all went to a great Yorkshire charity *Ball*. Georgy & I being Patronesses, as well as many Whigs, we sat in *great state* at the end of the room with the Duchess of Sutherland & some others. It was a very good Ball, & *John & Morpeth* were doing the *popular*, & *Jem* also, who had to dance for *John* as well as *himself*.

We were all very comfortable together, which was a great *relief to my mind.* ”

From Lady Wharncliffe to Lady Erne

“CURZON STREET,
“Friday, June 5, 1835.

“I am just come home from a little tiny party at Lady Dacre’s,¹ my *Neighbour*, where there was some very pretty singing by amateurs in the good old style of *little things*, adapted to a room, instead of those *grand* repetitions of what one hears much better perform’d at the Opera, or a Concert. I am grown to like the Dacres very much, they are so very kind & cordial, & so constantly so to *Jem*. I am more particularly pleased with *my Lord* for being a *converted Whig*. . . .

“The Government’s grand plan & *cheval de Bataille*, the Corporation reform,² was a complete failure tonight. They had expected a long & warm debate & much opposition, whereas when *Johnny* had made his speech & explained his Bill, Peel got up & said he *entirely approved* of the principle of the Bill, & was as ready as any body to remove all abuses, but should reserve himself to give his opinions hereafter on the *details*. So the Whigs look’d very *flat* & put out, & there ended the business of the night & the hope of raising a popular cry in the Country. . . .”

From Lord Wharncliffe to Lady Wharncliffe

“CARLTON [CLUB],
“Thursday, 6 o’clock.

“I write you one line just to tell you that I find the folks here in tearing spirits about their debate. They all say that Peel outdid himself, and that nothing could be more wretched than the figure cut by the Government.

¹ See p. 280, Vol. I.

² The Bill which created Town Councils, as we know them to-day, in provincial boroughs, and became the Municipal Corporation Act, 1835.

The impression seems to be that they are going to pieces. We shall see.

“Graham’s speech too they say was capital. On the other side Morpeth’s much the best. Hobhouse’s very bad indeed. . . .”

From Lady Wharncliffe to Lady Erne

“CURZON STREET, *Friday*.

“It has happen’d that the last two nights I have come home so late that I could not write. But for fear you should be disappointed again, dearest mama, or think me dead, if you do not get a letter to day, I write per Coach & hope this will reach you at about the post hour. Last night I was at the Duchess of Kent’s, who had music, & the Queen had dined with her. The night before I had been at the play, which does not *sound* very late, but *my dear Addy* had order’d two long musical things, so that it was longer than a usual performance. I had got our *naughty* Duke’s Box, which was opposite to her, & she made me out *directly*, & kiss’d her hand quietly *behind her fan*. I only raised myself a *little* that the *public* might be no wiser for her little acknowledgement, which was meant to be unobserved. I took Mrs. Dundas with me & Missy, who by sitting in a corner out of sight could put her feet up. None of our men came to us but Gong. You cannot conceive how well the Queen was received, it was really delightful, & all the *old passages* in God save the King applauded with enthusiasm. Every part of the House was full, & the pit full of respectable looking people who cheer’d and waved their hats most loyally. The Duchess of Cambridge was with her, & they both seemed to enjoy the music excessively.

“Yesterday when I came home before dinner I found a note from Lord Howe with the most unexpected and agreeable command, to go to St. James’s this evening to hear music. It is a party for the Prince Royal of Naples I believe, but not very large. To-morrow I

believe they go back to Windsor for *good*, and the King only comes up for Levées. He has had a little attack of Asthma since the Waterloo dinner, & has not been to any of the breakfasts with the Queen, or to Kensington yesterday. I shall therefore be very glad to see him to night *poor dear*. He has gone through *so much* the last two months, nobody knows how he suffer'd, but he is better now a great deal. . . ."

From Lady Wharncliffe to Lady Erne

"CURZON STREET,
"Wednesday, July 8, 1835.

"There is no news in Town, except the Conservative candidate being successful at *Oldham* !¹ What a curious thing ! It is owing to the Radicals having quarrel'd amongst themselves, & some discontent about Mr. Cobbett junior. . . .

"As Missy & I came home from our drive to day, we saw a good many people at the end of Rotten Row & soon saw they were waiting for the King to pass on his return to Windsor. We stopt the carriage, & in another minute he came thro' the great gate with his escort, &c., & I was quite glad to see hats off & all the old marks of respect as he pass'd—he would not have been so notic'd even a *year* ago. It is quite extraordinary how his bold conduct last year has restored his importance. There is a general feeling now that *there is a King*, which is a great gain."

From Lady Wharncliffe to Lady Erne

"CURZON STREET,
"Saturday, July 11, 1835.

"Yesterday Missy & I went with John & Georgy in their open carriage to a Nursery garden they knew & raved about beyond Clapham Common, where we saw

¹ The by-election at Oldham was occasioned by the death of William Cobbett. At this election the seat was won by J. Frederick Lees, Conservative, who defeated J. M. Cobbett, the son of William Cobbett, by thirteen votes.

such a profusion of roses as would have delighted *you*, besides many other beautiful as well as very curious plants.

“It would be a shame to close my letter without telling you that I yesterday crept quietly out of the house between 12 & one o’clock & walk’d with John¹ behind me to the *Park*, towards the *Review*. Of course I did not get near enough to *see* much, but I was nearly ‘*kilt dead*’ with the noise, particularly the Artillery! which was beyond all I had ever before heard! I wonder why? The wind to be sure brought the sound, & the air was particularly clear. The Park look’d very gay, & the concourse of people of all sorts was immense.

“I walk’d quietly to the railing, saw the Royal cortege return, & then walk’d slowly down towards Apsley House, where I had the pleasure soon after of seeing our Wellington pass by (before the troops), with Lord Hill, & heard him cheer’d as warmly & generally as in the days of his greatest favor. It was quite a triumph to his own gates, & he was obliged continually to touch his cap in acknowledgement. It was truly delightful to hear & see.

“I enjoyed it very much all *alone*, & nobody to drag me *here or there*, or hurry me. When I got home my family were much amused with my *lark*.

“I have read Hoffman’s book & liked it very much, & mean to read W. Irwin’s [Washington Irving’s] ‘*Prairies*’.”

From the Hon. James Stuart Wortley to Lady Wharncliffe

“NISI PRIUS COURT, CARLISLE,

“Aug. 8, 1835.

“One line only to give you news of my proceedings. I came from Newcastle last Wednesday by the new Railroad from Newcastle as far as Hexham, & glorious it was. I carried my gig & horse on the rail road, & the beast bore it very well. . . .

¹ Probably her footman.

"Here I am at this moment engaged in the most important special Jury case of the Assize, & against the Duke of Devonshire who is the Defendant. It is a trial about some property in this County between Sir George Musgrave¹ & the Duke, & I believe we are beating the Duke in a canter. It is the most satisfactory brief I have ever had as it is an important one, & I have no knowledge or connexion of any sort with either the party or the attorney.

"Many loves to all."

From Lady Wharncliffe to the Hon. Mrs. J. C. Talbot

"CURZON STREET,
"Saturday, Aug. 22, 1835.

"... You could not be more surprised than *I* was at finding myself at Windsor where I awoke *yesterday morning*. You know I was to be there Thursday early to see the Queen, then to lunch & drive out with them, & return to Town when they dress'd for dinner. But when I got there I found the King was gone all alone to Kew, & the Queen begg'd I would stay & dine, otherwise he would not see me & would be very much *disappointed*. I gave way of course, without much liking the thoughts of my drive home at night! (for the Castle was *full*, & she could not offer me a bed).

"The luncheon was rather awful, after a nice tête à tête in the Queen's room, & I felt shy & nervous. Indeed I was not well, & half kilt with my hot drive. Afterwards we were to go to Adelaide Cottage & then drive about the Park. But no sooner were we arrived at the Cottage (a lovely little spot just below the Castle) than large drops of rain were felt, a large black cloud spread over us, & thunder & pouring rain, so delightful at any other time, put an end to our expedition & kept

¹ Sir G. Musgrave's action against the Duke of Devonshire related to manorial rights over Glassonbye Fell. It was tried on August 8, 1835, before Lord Abinger, and resulted in an apparently easy victory for the plaintiff.

us there an hour or two, & only clear'd enough to enable us to get home dry, & the Queen & the Duchess of Cambridge¹ &c., to get a canter for Half an hour. Was it not provoking?

"I then went & sat with Lady Clinton,² & wash'd my hands when she dress'd, for *I* was obliged to dine as *I was*, which was not pleasant at a great dinner of 40 people—and if you could have seen the astonishment of some of the guests.

"The King did not arrive till late, & as of course I could not sit by him, I might as well have been driving home. However in the middle of dinner the Queen sent round to me to say that as one or two gentlemen were not arrived I could have a bed, & she begg'd me to stay. Of course I could only *bow assent*, & between the pleasure of being saved my dark & perhaps *thundery* drive, & the distress & uncomfot of having neither maid nor clothes, I hardly knew how I *felt*. The moment we got up from dinner, dear *Gomment* got me pen & paper that I might write to the Governor, & despatched the post boy with orders to return to Hounslow & forward my note *immediately*, to prevent his being alarm'd.

"I slept in Sir Henry Wheatley's room over the Queen's, but two stories higher. Think *what* a view when I got up in the morning! How I long'd for you. The Queen provided me with *night clothes*, & others contributed combs, &c. I felt so funny & smart in the Queen's nightcap! It was settled that I was to breakfast in my own room, or with the Taylors who were just below me, if I woke early enough; but just as I was going to sit down with them, & really quite glad to see a little in comfort of my friend Sir Herbert, a

¹ Augusta Wilhelmina Louisa, daughter of the Landgrave Frederick of Hesse-Cassel. Married, 1818, Adolphus Frederick, 1st Duke of Cambridge, K.G., Field-Marshal.

² Lady Elizabeth Georgiana Kerr, daughter of 6th Marquess of Lothian. Married, 1831, Charles Rodolph, 19th Baron Clinton. She died 1871.

Page knock'd at the door, & said he had her Majesty's commands to show me down to the *breakfast room*!! All were already seated, & I had to go to the King first, & then to the Queen, who made me sit by her, & then I felt *safe*. She sat at the *head* of the table as if she *was making* tea, & Miss Bagot¹ next to her & doing it for her. She made the little Falkland Boy² come & sit between us—*such* a child you never saw! and she absolutely doats upon it, as he upon her. He is the most engaging, manly & beautiful Boy I ever beheld. The dear good King had a little Saxe Weimar girl on each side of him all the time, with whom he kept up a great deal of nursery conversation. The other children were all sitting on a sofa together having their little jokes. I never saw such a number so quiet & good, without the least restraint or fear.

“After breakfast we all adjourn'd to the corridor, where I long'd for you, & thought of old times; & there all the children scampered about as much as they pleased, & *little Princess Mary* of Cambridge³ join'd. She is really very pretty & nice, & such a pet. It was quite pretty to see all the members of the Royal family playing with & interesting themselves in the juvenile party.

“But I really must stop, & only end my history by saying that after being *excused* going on to the Terrace to hear the *salute fired*, & seeing & hearing it from Lady Taylor's room, my departure was again delayed by the King desiring me to stay for *luncheon*, & not to go to Town till they set out for Virginia water. So I saw the cortege of carriages & horsemen leave the Castle, & then came back with Mademoiselle d'Este, who had driven down that morning only to *kiss the King* on his birthday.

¹ Daughter of Right Hon. Sir Charles Bagot, G.C.B. She married, 1837, the 10th Earl of Winchelsea as the second of his three wives.

² Only son of 10th Viscount Falkland. See p. 111, Vol. II.

³ Mary Adelaide Wilhelmina Elizabeth (1833–97), daughter of Adolphus Frederick, 1st Duke of Cambridge. Married, 1866, Francis, Prince and Duke of Teck. She was the mother of Queen Mary.

"As soon as I got here I found I was engaged to dine at the Wilton's,¹ & had only time to *dress*, & afterwards I went down to Montague House where the Dundas's had dined, & where we went into the garden to admire the *river*, & the rockets at Vauxhall. And here I am to day *quite* alone—what a contrast! The Governor gone sailing, Dundas's to Salt Hill, Harrowby's & Gong² to Hatfield, & Frederick Foster *Pillsome*. Dont you pity me?

"Adieu. The papers will tell you all there is to tell in politics. We are getting into boiling water! . . .

"I found the Duchess of Gloucester at Windsor, & the Landgravine came up yesterday from Princess Augusta's. *You should have seen my parting with the King.*"

Once more Lady Wharncliffe visits Windsor.

From Lady Wharncliffe to the Hon. Mrs. J. C. Talbot

"CURZON STREET,
"Thursday, Sept. 3, 1835.

"Here I am again, my dearest Missy, very unhappy as you will believe at having left that *royal Paradise*, and not the less so at having resisted the Queen's proposal to us to stay on, because Gooma³ was to meet me in Town, who did *not* come after all! However I should be very ungrateful if I was not resign'd, for nothing could answer better than our visit as far as it went, & for many reasons it is well we should be in Town again, besides which the Queen was suffering from rheumatism in her side & shoulder, & tho' able to come out of her room, & not minding me, who was the only

¹ Thomas Grosvenor (1799–1882), 2nd Earl of Wilton, son of Robert, 1st Marquis of Westminster. He inherited the earldom of Wilton from his mother, Eleanor, only surviving daughter of Thomas Egerton, 1st Earl of Wilton. He married Lady Mary Stanley, daughter of Edward, 12th Earl of Derby.

² See List of Nicknames, p. xiii.

³ See List of Nicknames, p. xiii.

visitor, yet of course must feel more entirely independent & comfortable with only her sister & the household ; & to appear or not as she pleased.

“The King however left us soon after breakfast to come up for the *Lévée*, & we staid to see St. George’s Chapel & the round Tower, in which there are some very nice rooms ; & lunch’d & saw the children in the corridor as usual, & the Queen’s rooms, who wanted to shew them to the Governor. That magnificent view was in the greatest beauty & he admired it as it deserv’d. We then tore ourselves away.

“On Tuesday after luncheon (when my letter to you was seal’d & gone) I heard the King & Queen settling something about *driving*, & to my infinite delight found it was arranged that we were to go to Virginia water in a barouche with them. The morning which had been very thick & odious with the east wind, had turn’d into a mild & beautiful evening, & we set out between 3 & 4, & did not return till 7 o’clock. Such a drive !

“We got out at the fishing cottage which I daresay you remember seeing from the mainland, & there got into a boat to look at a beautiful little frigate built by Captain Symonds, with which the Governor was quite delighted. From thence we row’d across to some Italian Tents, where they dined on some occasion lately. Such a situation ! There the carriage came round to meet us, & we continued our drive & return’d by *Cumberland Lodge* & the remains of our poor dear *Cottage* ! I can’t say how unpleasant it was, & I could not help saying to the Queen as we walk’d thro’ the conservatory how melancholy it was to me. She said nothing, but look’d *hard at me*, with an inquisitive but amiable expression. I did not choose to expatiate & she did not speak, but she saw there was something she did not understand. . . .

“The new dining-room was not quite finish’d by poor George 4th, but is now complete (& where *we* should

have dined had he lived another year). The room at the end of the conservatory is the Queen's own addition & is fitted up like a tent, the corners taken off by *draperies*, or open with sofas in the recess—*very* pretty. Windows every way, or rather to the view & to the old lawn ; the other sides having glass doors. The carriage drives up & sets you down at the end of the conservatory, exactly where the house joined on the very stage of your charades ! I really was quite glad to leave the spot.

“ We then proceeded to the statue of George the 3rd, which is really a magnificent work of art & has a grand effect. We drove round it & stopt to examine it on every side. Finally we drove down the long walk to the Castle, & dressed as fast as we could for dinner.

“ By the by tell Gong that I wore his muslin gown at Windsor, which was so admired by the Queen & Ladies that the Queen desired me to get her 4 or even six dresses like it, or as near like it as I can. I suppose she means to dress all her Ladies & her sister. When I told her it had cost five or six shillings she said ‘ Oh ! ’—probably the first time she had ever heard of a gown for five shillings poor dear.

“ I have written so much that I must have done for today, only adding that the Governor is gone to a meeting at the Duke of Wellington's, which is rather nervous, as He & Lord Lyndhurst are expected to make a stand about the Aldermen for life, which may affect the whole fate of the Bill ! . . .

“ Here is the Governor. The Aldermen are given up & he is much *relieved*. What a pass we are come to, to be *glad* to pass a measure which in its amended form is so democratic, rather than divide the party. However the Lords are saved for the present by it, & the Ministers are evidently most anxious to conciliate them & acknowledge their rights, whilst they blame them. Adieu dearest Missy.

“ Jem ‘ (an unknown member) ’ suggested an amendment last night, approved & proposed by the Solicitor

General, & which was adopted. He was complimented by him ; & altogether it has pleased & flatter'd Jem, tho' they have not mention'd his name in the papers."

The Municipal Corporations Bill—which, as Lady Wharncliffe tells us in a previous letter, was warmly supported by Peel in the House of Commons—had been mutilated beyond recognition in the House of Lords. The ultra-Tories were triumphant, but they had reckoned without Peel. When the Bill returned to the House of Commons, Russell, on behalf of the House of Commons, refused to accept most of the peers' amendments. Among these was an amendment electing aldermen for life. When Russell sat down, Peel rose to defend, as he said, the independence of the House of Lords, but in reality to support Russell in rejecting most of its amendments. The ultra-Tories listened in silent rage. But we infer from these letters that the more moderate members of the party, and even the Duke of Wellington, agreed with Peel. The Lords, guided by Wellington and by Lyndhurst, who in the last resort had yielded to necessity, accepted the more important decisions of the House of Commons. The House of Commons, in its turn, yielded some points to the Lords, and the Corporations Bill became law.

From the Hon. James Stuart Wortley to Lady Wharncliffe

"BISHOPTHORPE,

"Friday, Sept. 11, 1835.

"I write one line to say that in all probability I shall not come home tomorrow ; the difficulty of getting conveyance is so great that I should be obliged to drive my gig the whole way, & as I am going to Sprotborough on Monday I think it will hardly be worth while to come so far round, particularly as the Archbishop has kindly asked me to stay over till Monday.

"The Festival has been very brilliant & successful, & we, as well as the loyal inhabitants of York, are all enchanted with the little Princess. The Duchess [of Kent] asked very kindly after you & Caroline. You have been very much missed and enquired after, & your

excuse will not pass for much, as both Brougham & the Duke of Northumberland were here on Wednesday after ascertaining the fate of the Corporation Bill."

From the Hon. James Stuart Wortley to Lady Wharncliffe

"LONDON, Nov. 11, 1835.

"You will before this have heard of the death of poor Milton; ¹ a more melancholy death under all the circumstances I never remember, & really I cannot get it out of my head. Such a fine fellow, such prospects, & with a young wife just going to lie in of her first child! I fear it will be an irrecoverable blow to poor Lord Fitzwilliam. . . ."

From Lady Erne to the Hon. Mrs. J. C. Talbot

"Sunday evening, Nov. 15, 1835.

"I am longing to see you & your dear baby—quando mai sara? I cannot tell you how the deep Tragedy at Wentworth has seized on my spirits. It is too, too sad—such a transition from a happiness & prosperity as nearly perfect as human nature & circumstances will admit of, to such extreme affliction! I find from enquiries I have made that Lord Liverpool means to induce his unhappy daughter to come back with him to Town, & has given orders at Fife House for her reception there, intending that her confinement should there take place instead of at her own now *desolate Home*."

From Lady Erne to the Hon. Mrs. J. C. Talbot

"Thursday, Nov. 26, 1835.

"The accounts of poor Lady Milton are favourable beyond one's hopes, especially after her having attended the *Funeral*. She was so earnest about it, that they thought it more dangerous to thwart her, than to allow her the dreadful indulgence of her feelings. I have had a letter from Lord Liverpool which is satisfactory about

¹ See p. 189, Vol. II.

her present health, & very creditable to his own feelings. He says, he cares not whether his 'dear dear Selina' has a boy or a girl, if it is but a consolation & interest to her. . . ."

From the Hon. James Stuart Wortley to Lady Wharncliffe

"LONDON, Dec. 8, 1835.

"When I tell you that on Saturday I dined with the Howicks & yesterday with the Premier, I am afraid you will think I have been keeping bad company since I last wrote. I was not a little surprised a few nights ago by finding on my table a letter sealed with a Viscount's coronet, & with an 'M' in the corner which I could not guess to come from anybody but Lord Melbourne, & true enough, it turned out to be from him; for no more serious purpose however than to ask me to dinner to meet Mrs. Norton.¹ He had heard from her that I was engaged to be of her party at young Matthews' ² Début, & proposed that we should all dine with him before the play. This was a tempting party, & of course I went.

"There dined there only the Nortons, the Seymours & myself, & a more jolly party, or anything less like a Prime Minister, I never saw. There was nothing improper said or done, *of course*, but they appeared better friends than I should have liked if I had been Norton. After dinner we went to the Olympic, & I am happy to say that Matthews succeeded to the full extent of my expectations. He is full of quickness, activity & fun, with a clear & distinct enunciation & a pleasant tone of voice. But he wants at present that sort of confidence which will embolden him to make more free use of his natural humour, neither his features or the expression

¹ Caroline Sheridan, granddaughter of Richard Brinsley Sheridan. Married Hon. George Norton. She wrote poems and novels, and was noted for her beauty.

² Charles James Mathews (1803-78), son of Charles Mathews the comedian. Architect, actor and dramatist. Took to the stage, 1835; appeared at the Olympic in that year. He opened the Lyceum, London, 1847. Went bankrupt, 1856.

of his countenance are quite marked enough, & his voice wants force. He is however very gay, gentlemanlike & funny, & will be invaluable to fill a line of parts which is at present wholly unoccupied—something between Jones & old Matthews when he was young. Eccentric & ludicrous but clever young men are what I think he will act best—Young Rapid, Jeremy Diddler & those sort of parts. Poor Liston looks lamentably old, & was quite *touching* last night in his protection of his old friend's son.

“Nobody seems to know whether the report of a Greek Revolution mentioned in *The Times* is true or not, & what is more, Revolutions have of late been so common that nobody seems to care. There is no other news. Lord Melbourne seemed in high spirits, but I don't think the Whigs look forward with much confidence to the next session.”

From the Hon. James Stuart Wortley to Lord Wharncliffe

“LONDON, Dec. 15, 1835.

“I have only time . . . to say how glad I am to hear so good an account of the Sheffield dinner. Your speech was given at length & apparently well given in the *Times*, & I read it with infinite pleasure. . . . I can have no doubt that your speech must have been received with a degree of satisfaction by the *budding* Tories of Sheffield which will last beyond the applause of the moment, & that it will do good. . . .

“The Morning Advertiser had another very violent & well written article yesterday against O'Connell, & as Brougham has denied it's authorship in the *Chronicle*, there must be some other traitor (or rather one more honest man) in the Camp.

“Poor old Sarum's ¹ bones have really been found & there is to be an Inquest & a funeral.”

¹ Mary Amelia (1750–1835), wife of 1st Marquis of Salisbury, daughter of 1st Marquis of Downshire, and grandmother to the Prime Minister, Lord Salisbury, lost her life in the fire which destroyed the west wing of Hatfield House on November 27, 1835.



VIEW FROM WHARNCLIFFE CHASE

From a picture by the late Archibald Stuart Wortley. The property of the Hon. Lady Talbot.

From Lady Wharncliffe to the Hon. Mrs. J. C. Talbot

“WORTLEY HALL,
“Saturday, Dec. 21, 1835.

“You was quite right in leaving the printed papers with Gooma. I do hope she will get something from the *Felines* in her Palace & perhaps others, by the help of her Parson & Apothecary. I have not mention'd the Queen's name except in my own family, because with all the stupid cant about Orangeism and the Duke of Cumberland, &c., I thought it was just as well to be silent; especially as she has subscribed to the great collection & that her name is not upon the list she has sent me. I think Lady Ravensworth & the Duchess of Northumberland were of that opinion too.”

CHAPTER XXXI

(1836-1838)

Letter from Lady Louisa Percy from Bordeaux—Curious story of Napoleon and the Comtesse d'Albany—Melbourne's Government firmly seated—Lady Erne contemplates a voyage—Death of Mrs. Fitzherbert—King's last illness and death—Dissolution of Parliament—Balance of parties not much affected—James wounded in riot at Wakefield—John and James both defeated—A commission from Lady Erne—The young Queen's conduct to FitzClarences—Revolt in Canada—Constitution suspended—Brougham attacks Government—Wellington defends them : the Tories think he has gone too far—Peel shapes the Bill for the Government of Canada—James introduces Mr. Roebuck to Circuit.

IN the year 1836 only one letter has been preserved. It is from Lady Louisa Percy to her cousin, Mrs. Talbot, and is written from Bordeaux on October 5, 1836 :

“ . . . The next time you give yourselves a holiday I advise you to employ [it] in making the tour we have just accomplished. We staid a week at Versailles, & as we then heard with certainty that the cholera had reached Ancona, two days journey from Rome, I made a great effort to persuade Papa to content himself with Paris—but in vain. He prefers Nice, & we are thus far on our way. Je ne suis nullement de son avis. I think I should have liked Paris very well, & for many reasons I dread a winter at Nice. However, in the meantime I have amused myself to my heart's content, clambering up Towers, groping into Dungeons, seeing pretty Country—in short making the utmost use of the unusual portion of health & strength the divine homöopathie has endued me with.

“It is quite astonishing that in spite of the ravages of the Huguenots in the 16th Century, so much that is interesting should still exist in Touraine & Poitou. Everywhere you find the Castles & beautiful Italianized palaces of the Valois Kings in very tolerable preservation, *considering*, & not a few of the gloomy Churches & ‘feudal towers’ of our Plantagenets still exist. We made several excursions off the high road, & one in particular to Chenonceaux, which is the most curious remnant of the olden time I ever saw in any country. It was built by a Seigneur de Bohier, sold to Francis the 1st, given by Henry the II^d to Diana de Poitiers who added to it, taken from her by Catherine de Medicis—was the retreat of the devote Louise de Vaudemont, widow of Henry III^d, & after her luckily has always belonged to persons of taste & information who have respected & preserved it.

“It is singularly built across the pretty bright Cher amongst *des Prairies fraîches & ombragées*, with draw-bridges, a profusion of pointed roofed Tourelles, projecting cornices & balconies. The guard room of Catherine de Medicis & her *withdrawing room* are covered with the cyphers & arms of Francis & Henry, hung with stamped leather, the huge carved chimney pieces, sculptured doors with tapestry *portières*. Venice glasses in splendid frames, arm Chairs & tables embroidered with the F. couronnée. Everything is untouched. Louise de Vaudemont’s room is shewn with her *siege de deuil* of black Velvet & gold, with H. & L. embroidered on it.

“The only additions made since they inhabited these rooms are some curious portraits & memorials of remarkable persons, of which the most curious are a looking glass belonging to Mary Queen of Scots, & a most characteristic letter of Henry the IV to a certain M. du Batz. He thanks him for the services rendus à ceux de la religion, & particulièrement à ceux de mon pays de Béarn, desires him not to suppose that he dis-

trusts him for being *de ceux la du Pape, car tous ceux qui suyvent droit leur conscience sont de ma religion*. I think this very characteristic of the high spirit & doubtful faith of the bon Henri. There are several portraits of Diane de Poitiers, not at all pretty, & a profusion of her crescents & bow & quiver every where. One wonders she liked what was something in the nature of an epigram upon her considering all things. One detached Tower near the Chateau goes by the name of Tour des Anglais, & was garrisoned & defended by the English in the wars of Jeanne d'Arc, so all the most singular & interesting periods of French history are brought at once to one's recollection.

"We had the good fortune to reach this interesting old place just as a procession from the village carried the pain bénit to offer to the Seigneur on occasion of a wedding. All the noçe danced afterwards on the place before the Chateau, & with the old fashioned peculiar costumes of the women, the primitiveness of the ceremony, & the antiquity of all around, I should not have been startled if the old Sire de Bohier himself had risen from his long rest & looked out of the window. He would have been in good keeping with the whole scene.

"The village looks nearly as old as the Castle. The little Inn has the sign of the Crescent, & nothing interrupted *ces douces illusions* or reminded me we were in the siècle des lumières, till we reached the spot where Chanteloup (the Duc de Choiseul's) *was*. The bande noire has levelled it literally to the ground except for the *Pagoda*, which he "*éleva à ses amis qui étaient venus le consoler dans [paper torn]*." Would anything but a Frenchman think of raising a *Chinese Pagoda* in honor of his French friends!

"À-propos of Frenchmen, I do not know whether liberty has stupefied them, but no traces of their much talked of gaiety could I see. The population has the air of un-amused dullness of England. I really believe that their total abolition of Sunday, which is neither a

day of rest as with us, or one of diversion as with the rest of Europe, & the suppression of most holidays, has produced on them the proverbially bad effects of all work & no play.

“ We spent some days at Tours, a fine town, & made from thence excursions to Chinon, the favorite residence of the Plantagenets, Fontevraud, their burial place, & Loches (one of Richard Coeur de Lion’s strongholds), afterwards a retreat of Charles the VII during the Enghien wars, & finally used as a State Prison by Louis the Eleventh. The little town above which the Castle rises is completely one of the 15th Century—Turrets, huge dark arched gateways, heavy sculptured windows & balconies are to be seen at every step. Of the Castles, the four ‘ stern round Towers ’ used as prisons still remain, & in one of them, 25 feet under the court, lit by a single grated arrow slit, is shewn the dungeon in which Ludovico Sforza, Duke of Milan, lived ten years. There are still traces of the paintings & writing on the wall with which he occupied ‘ ses affreux loisirs ’. When one represented to oneself the sufferings of the wretch (an Italian too) who for ten years saw nothing but that scanty ray of light, & had nothing in that hopeless gloom to reflect on but his crimes, they seemed too dreadful a punishment, even for the men who first brought the French & Spaniards to fight their quarrel out in Italy.

“ These horrid Towers are still Prisons, & used besides as mad houses. An old sailor, once a Prisoner in England, has the sole care of the captives sane & insane, without any Assistants. We asked him if he had no medical ones, ‘ Que Voulez vous qu’un medicin fasse à des foux, ils n’ont pas besoin de cela ’. He shewed us the horrid iron belt & collar with which he managed his *aliénés* as he called them, & gave me the conviction that the *modern* misery suffered in that spot was as great, though not as celebrated, as the *ancient*. ‘ Pour passer à des idées plus riantes,’ as a Frenchman would say, we

passed on to the part inhabited by Charles & Agnes Sorel in time of peace, which is in perfect preservation, surrounded by an old fashioned garden such as Agnes & Jeanne d'Arc may have walked in, on a Terrace commanding a view of the picturesque old town, & the river winding round it. In a detached Tower is the monument of the *gentille Agnès*, lying on a couch, her hands raised in prayer, & so lovely that it must be a portrait, as no Sculptor of that period could have invented so perfectly grecian a face. Her Epitaph too is very *gentille* & touching, considering the difficulty of uniting panegyric with decency in that case, & hope without presumption: 'Cy git Agnes Sorelle &c. &c. pitieuse envers toute gens, et qui donnoit largement de ses biens aux pauvres et aux Églises—priez Dieu pour l'âme d'elle Amen'.

"I am come to the end of my paper, though not of my travels. You will be thankful for the former, & think I am afraid that I had better have exercised a little of the prudence that prevented my descanting upon Grignan. You & my Aunt will have this time an indigestion of old Castles, & I am afraid not interesting ones, for after all Catherine de Medicis, Diane de Poitiers &c. are not one's intimate friends like Madame de Sevigné. However, if I had room, you would have had many more Castles. . . .

"I hope John Gilbert grows & prospers. I meant to see the monument of his Ancestor & namesake at Castillon, near this town, but lo! I find it has been lately utterly destroyed."

Mr. Henry Littleton, son of the 2nd Lord Hatherton and Lady Margaret Percy, told the writer that Lady Louisa Percy, as a child, frequently saw the Comtesse d'Albany, illegitimate daughter of Charles Edward by Miss Walkinshaw. Lady Louisa remembered her father and mother, Lord and Lady Beverley often relating the following story:

At the time when Napoleon was thinking of invading England he summoned the Comtesse d'Albany to one of his

palaces. She was completely in the dark as to the reason for his summons. On arrival she was admitted into a large empty room. After a few moments the door opened, and the little man himself came in quite alone. Without further preliminary he said, "N'avez vous jamais eu d'enfant?" "Non, Sire," she replied, "jamais." "C'est dommage, Madame," he replied, and without another word turned on his heel and went out.

The explanation of this extraordinary incident was probably that Napoleon hoped that Madame d'Albany had had a child whom he could have presented to the Scotch people as a Pretender to the throne of Scotland, thereby securing a rising in Scotland to synchronise with his invasion of England.

Throughout 1837 the Melbourne Government, in spite of Tory hopes and predictions, remained firmly seated. The year is memorable for the accession of Queen Victoria. On June 20 King William IV. died. Although not distinguished by any great ability, in character he was a great improvement upon his brother, George IV. He was straightforward, anxious to do his duty, impetuous and warm-hearted, at times, no doubt, rather absurd. Those who knew him well were genuinely fond of him. Among these were Lord and Lady Wharncliffe.

The year begins with a letter from James Stuart Wortley, then on circuit, written from Wetherby, in Yorkshire, whither he has posted all the way. "The roads were generally excellent but very slippery, having been beaten into a smooth surface something like ice. . . . The Glasgow mail was last night several hours after its time. . . . The thermometer last night was down at twelve, and you may easily believe that these country inns are not a little cold."

The next letter, February 7, is from Lady Erne, now well on in the seventies. She writes to her granddaughter, Caroline Talbot, and speaks of her great-grandson, Johnny Gilbert, afterwards the well-known J. G. Talbot, member for Oxford University. His parents had just moved to No. 10 Great George Street, Westminster, a delightful house which many of us still remember for its home-like atmosphere and the easy hospitality which reigned there.

Lady Erne writes from Hampton Court :

"By and bye you may expect *to see me*. The river will give a mode of conveyance quite to my taste. The voyage will be charming, and the little distance from Whitehall stairs to George Street easy to perform per cab or hackney coach, or perhaps even by the month of May on my own feet. What an exclamation you and Gong¹ will make! But really and truly, if I go on living and mending I think the thing possible, and I shall indulge in that view of it. . . .

"What is this strange piece of paper I have got hold of. I am ashamed of it, and my pen is indignant at being expected to '*peindre la parole*' on anything so vulgar and so rough. But you, dear Car, must excuse it for I have not energies sufficient to re-write even these few lines."

In a letter of April 10 Lady Augusta Seymour (*née* Hervey), writing to Lady Erne, gives some details of the death of Mrs. Fitzherbert. Lady Augusta's sister-in-law, Mary Georgiana Seymour, had been adopted by Mrs. Fitzherbert, and was with her at the time of her death. Lady Augusta's husband, Frederick Seymour, though just recovering from influenza, had made an effort to go to his sister when poor Mrs. Fitzherbert's illness became alarming. He was present at the closing scene, which was as peaceful and as little suffering as her friends could desire. After describing the funeral, Lady Augusta says that Mrs. Damer² and Mrs. Jerningham are the principal heirs. "There is supposed to be still a good deal of property not yet come to light (not being disposed of by will), in which Colonel Gurwood is said to have a considerable share. But there appears to be great uncertainty about this."

On Wednesday, April 12, 1837, Lady Erne writes from Hampton Court to Mrs. Talbot:

"... I find your perplexities about the drawing room are put an end to, but I am sure you will be sorry

¹ John C. Talbot. See p. 35, Vol. II.

² Mary Georgiana Seymour, daughter of Hugh Seymour. Married, 1825, the Hon. George Lionel Dawson Damer. She had several children, of whom the last, Lady Constance Leslie, survived until 1925.

to owe it to the Event which is so great an affliction, to our good kind hearted King. It must have fallen on Him with all the additional bitterness of surprise. For I understand Lady de Lisle¹ was out of her confinement above a fortnight. If you hear any thing particular of the King do write me a line. I really feel alarm'd about its effect on his health. . . .

"I rejoice to hear of poor dear Emmeline being safely lodg'd at Bute House. Does she mean to be confin'd there? 2. . ."

About the beginning of June the King became very ill, and for the next fortnight steadily grew worse. By the middle of the month all hope was practically at an end.

From Lady Wharncliffe to the Hon. Mrs. J. C. Talbot

"June [19 or 20?]

"Halford is gone back to Windsor, & Jem has heard that Keate & Chambers both *despair*. Halford wrote me a note (about Gooma), adding that the King had taken the Sacrament, & he had 'no doubt he should find H.M. much comforted, &c!' He was just returning to Windsor. Jem heard from somebody else this evening that he had borne the ceremony very well, & seemed composed. He remarked to somebody this morning that this was *Waterloo Day*, & that he hoped he should live over it! This shows his own opinion of his case, & is moreover very touching. I suppose the dinner can never take place to-morrow under present circumstances.

"The Governor is not return'd, *too bad*, is it not? I am as you may suppose utterly desponding to night, & very unhappy. I found my *Baby*, & drove him about for a little while, which was a great comfort & relief to me. I wish I had him always with me.

¹ Spoken of in former letters as Lady Sophia Sidney. See p. 125, Vol. II.

² Victoria Stuart Wortley, daughter of Charles Stuart Wortley and Lady Emmeline, was born April 1837. She was Maid of Honour to Queen Victoria, and married, 1863, Sir William Earle Welby-Gregory, 4th Bart.

“ Good night, dearest Missy. I hope you will come up here to-morrow. . . .

“ Somebody has met poor Princess Augusta and the Duchess of Gloucester returning from Windsor this evening. I suppose therefore they have taken leave of our good King, & received the Sacrament with him. How grievous & unexpected it all is ! I can hardly bring myself to believe the truth of our misfortune. What a night for poor Vicky ! I enclose Halford’s note, but pray take care, & return it to me.”

The accession of a new Sovereign entailed in those days a dissolution of Parliament. James — who, it will be remembered, had won his seat at Halifax in 1835 by one vote — writes on June 27, 1837, from Bradford :

“ Of course I can form no judgment of the state of things in this Riding yet, but I find our party by no means despondent ; in the mean time the Radicals are making a great card of the name of ‘ our *youthful & patriotic* Queen ’, but our party have also the good sense to take the same line”.

Two days later Dr. Corbet, the vicar of Wortley, comments on the King’s death :

“ . . . Your Father seldom writes beyond the few lines he may have to say upon some matter of business, so that I know nothing of the effect which the King’s death has produced. Your Mother and himself had, I know, an interest in the King and Queen separate and distinct from politics, and they will regret the King’s Death as they would the death of a person for whom they felt a real personal attachment, and as a bitter affliction to the Queen. Probably it will be so felt by many others, for I am told the King attached all those to Him who were at all admitted to his familiar society. . . . For my part as a Conservative I don’t at all like the change, and at Sheffield on Tuesday when I was present as a matter of Duty at the Proclamation of our new Queen, I cannot

pretend that I felt any thing like joy. A great crowd assembled, but it was extraordinary how little enthusiasm was expressed or I suppose felt. We could hardly raise a Huzza. Yet I do not mean to give way to any thing like despair, we are alive and awake. . . .”

The elections did not greatly affect the balance of parties. The Liberals still had a small majority in the House of Commons, the Conservatives still remained a strong and formidable Opposition. Nevertheless the King's death had strengthened the Liberals. In the old Parliament every one had known that the King only endured his Ministers on sufferance. In the new Parliament every one knew that the Queen relied greatly on Lord Melbourne for advice and help. For the first time Ministers felt they had an assured position.

Young James Stuart Wortley, thinking of his own election at Halifax, says that it is “very uncertain, but such as must be fought”. Meanwhile he tries to help his brother John at Wakefield in his contest for the West Riding.

From the Hon. James Stuart Wortley to Lady Wharncliffe

“WAKEFIELD, July 31, 1837.

“The nomination is just over after a violent & most disgraceful riot commenced by the Whigs as is admitted by their leaders, & confirmed to me in person by the High Sheriff who is himself a Whig. All was quiet, & there was a great show of blues [Tories], though not equal to the yellows [Radicals]. In the middle of Morpeth's speech a band of music leading a band of orange men armed with bludgeons assailed the ranks of our party; the consequence was resistance, & the blues though very inferior in numbers actually drove every yellow man from the space before the hustings, so that not one was to be seen for above $\frac{1}{2}$ an hour. In this interval I rushed from the hustings & placed myself between the two parties & endeavoured to keep our men *in line* in their position & prevent their recommencing the fight.

While I was so engaged, another assault was made by the yellows in our *rear*, & then the yellow force in front taking courage also attacked us, & succeeded in dislodging the blues from their position. The consequence of this was a general rout, & as I had been in the front of our men, I was, of course, also amongst the hindmost in the retreat, & when we were driven back into the portico of the Court House (which was already full) I was exposed to the fire of the enemy, brick-bats, stones and parts of iron railings which they had torn up, & received one very severe cut on the back of my head, & two or three other considerable bruises. Thank God ! however I am none the worse, & I write these few lines to prevent false alarms & to tell you that John is perfectly safe & without injury. Many are very severely wounded, two or three are now in the House & in bed, & report goes that one or two lives have been lost.

“The town is now once more perfectly quiet & in the possession of the military. We almost think this occurrence will serve us, but it remains to be seen. No shew of hands was taken, but the meeting dissolved by the Sheriff in the midst of the confusion.

“I have had my head dressed, & the surgeon says that though it is an extensive and deep cut, it is of no real consequence.”

Both John and James Stuart Wortley were beaten in the 1837 election—the former for the West Riding of York, and the latter for the town of Halifax.

On November 6 Lady Erne writes to her granddaughter, Mrs. Talbot, asking her to do a troublesome commission for her :

“ . . . When John Crichton¹ was last in England, I told him I must give him something for his newly fitting-

¹ John Creighton or Crichton was son of the second son of Lord Erne (Lady Caroline's father) by his first wife. Although his uncle, the 2nd Earl, was then living, he seems to have lived at Crum Castle, and to have been regarded by the family as their head. He succeeded his uncle as 3rd Earl, 1842.

up House at Crum Castle (a sort of thing always difficult to choose). The thing which occurred to me was a handsome inkstand for his library-Table. He seem'd pleas'd with the idea, & I was much pleas'd with his answer, & *remark* that it would be particularly acceptable, as it would then be always under his eye & putting him in mind of me. Now, I have no means of making any choice, nor do I know exactly what would be suitable for the occasion, taking in *also* the *consideration* of *his* unusual and *habitual* kindness to me in our peculiar *relationship*. You of course would know how to make the choice, & have no difficulty but about the *price*, from which I can relieve you by saying that up to 50£ & *beyond* it I should have no hesitation. Either an entire silver stand with its furniture, or if more the *fashion* of the *day*, handsome cut glass furniture with silver settings. Would you communicate to Him this commission by Jem or by a note from yourself, & get him to look at some specimens with you? Will you, dear child, do me this service? . . ."

From Lord Wharncliffe to Lady Wharncliffe

"CARLTON CLUB,

"6 o'clock, Wednesday, Jan. 17, 1838.

"You will see by the papers that the report I mentioned last night of Durham's going out to Canada was well founded. Beyond that there is nothing to tell you.

"The people in this club are very low and dissatisfied I think with there being no appearance of an attack upon the Government, and Saurin & 'mon ami Bonham' growl exceedingly. It certainly is provoking with such a strength as we have to be doing nothing, but there is in truth no concert among us, and I wish our members of the House of Commons may not go away again in disgust. It is quite evident that they will do so if a thaw comes. . . ."

From Lady Wharncliffe to the Hon. Mrs. J. C. Talbot

“QUARRY HOUSE, Tuesday.

“ . . . Having spent *two hours* between the Queen and *Gussy*,¹ I can only write one line. . . .

“The Queen told me of the *young Queen’s* conduct to the Fitzclarences ; & you will be glad to hear that she [Queen Adelaide] immediately wrote to her to say how much pleasure it had given her, as a proof of her [Queen Victoria’s] affection for her Uncle & respect to his memory. The little Queen wrote her back word that nothing she had yet done had given her such sincere gratification. This is all right. I will tell you more when we meet. . . .”

The affairs of Canada were at that time absorbing the attention of politicians. Up to now the two Provinces, Upper and Lower Canada, had had separate Governments, formed, however, on identical lines. In both discontent had arisen, followed by friction with the home Government. Upper Canada, which was almost entirely British and Protestant, desired only a more constitutional form of government and peace under the British rule, in order to develop its industries and agriculture. Lower Canada, with a French-Canadian and Roman Catholic majority, desired also a more representative government. But there the situation was greatly complicated by the existence of two races with very different traditions and professing different religions. Some of the leaders among the French-Canadians even aimed at separation from Great Britain, and this state of things culminated in 1837 in a rebellion led by Papineau, a French-Canadian of considerable ability, who was Speaker of the House of Assembly. This insurrection was quelled without great difficulty.

Under these circumstances Lord John Russell announced that Ministers proposed to suspend the Constitution of Lower Canada for three years, and to send out Lord Durham as High Commissioner. Brougham, who, since he had been

¹ Princess Augusta Sophia, second daughter of George III. Born 1768 ; died unmarried 1840.

refused the Lord Chancellorship, never missed an opportunity of attacking his old friends, made on January 18, 1838, a virulent attack upon Melbourne, while Peel, though criticising the Bill, practically supported the Ministry in its difficulties. Wellington freely put his military abilities at its disposal, while his speeches in the House of Lords seemed, to many Conservatives, to go further than was necessary in support of the Government.

From Lord Wharncliffe to Lady Wharncliffe

“HOUSE OF LORDS,
“6 o'clock, Friday.

“Brougham administered the most severe and bitter and indeed able chastisement upon the Government and Glenelg,¹ and I never saw anything more beaten than Melbourne in his reply. In truth he placed himself almost at our mercy, and being the most generous and least factious of oppositions our leader got him completely out of the scrape, and set him upon his legs again. Indeed the Duke went further and cut the ground not only under our feet, but under the feet of any body who might have thought they had a good case.

“You may imagine that the faces of Mon Ami Bonham, and Saurin, and the rest of the Carlton folks are somewhat lengthened. One cannot be surprised at a certain degree of despair at the loss of an opportunity which certainly appeared to be as good as any political party could have wished for to damage their opponents. I very much fear its effect as to the power of bringing our people up to vote. Their indignation at present is very great.

“I suppose the Duke was determined that he would not shew anything like a wish to be factious, while he was endeavouring to rouse the Government to a bold support of the Queen's sovereignty in Canada.

“You will see that Brougham went away before

¹ Charles Grant, Lord Glenelg (1778-1866). Was Colonial Secretary under Melbourne, 1835-39.

the debate closed, and he has tonight given some explanation of his having gone away. . . .”

On Thursday, January 18, 1839, the Duke had said that he could not blame the Ministers for not having taken more active measures, for he knew several persons, particularly officers, well acquainted with those Provinces who thought that there was not in the preceding summer the smallest reason to apprehend anything like an insurrection in Canada. Alluding to this speech of the Duke's, Greville, who so seldom has a good word for any one, says, “The Duke of Wellington made a very noble speech, just such as fitted in with such a moment, and of course it bitterly mortified and provoked the Tories, who would have had him make a party question of it”.

The letter that follows is undated, but evidently refers to the Duke's support of the Government in the House of Lords, which was so unwelcome to many of his own party.

From Lord Wharncliffe to Lady Wharncliffe

“HOUSE OF LORDS, *Monday*.

“I give you joy, Dearest Love, of the Thaw which appears to be complete. It is certainly *curious*, if it be a guess, that Mr. Murphy should in *his Almanac* have stated the exact day upon which this frost was to begin, that upon which it would reach its acme, and that upon which the Thaw was to begin. In mean time, however, the change is agreeable.

“This speech of the Duke's is, I am sorry to say, producing the worst effects not only among members of Parliament and so forth, but in the city and in the Country among the Constituency. Holmes told me today that there is a talk of the City petition, against Grote and the City members, being abandoned from the feeling that they will not spend money in support of a Party who throw themselves over in such a way. The declaration which the Duke made in the end of the Session is also brought up against us, and in short the effect is very bad indeed. There is indeed no defence

for this matter, but that he was not aware of the force and effect of what he was saying, and as he never let out a word of the sort to any of us, or even to Peel, it was like a clap of thunder. All this is the more provoking that the reasons the Duke gives for his opinion are in truth nothing more than what he has heard from military men who have not been in Canada for several years, and who formed their opinions upon a contempt for the Canadians, which, whatever may be its effect upon the military chances of warfare, ought not to be the ground of any neglect of security beforehand. It is very provoking indeed. However they will *not* get over their bill with perfect ease. . . .”

From Lord Wharncliffe to Lady Wharncliffe

“CURZON STREET, Jan. 24, 1838.

“ . . . You are all quite wrong about the Duke of Wellington’s speech, and if you will take the trouble to read what use Spring Rice and John Russell make of it in their speeches last night you will see that they certainly rely upon it for their defence against an accusation that every body makes, and which none feel to be more deserved, as I know to my certain knowledge, than they do themselves. And I repeat also that the Duke’s ¹ words went further than he meant, and that it was the result of the same cause which made him make that speech on reform which did so much mischief, namely not having a perfect use of his weapon when he speaks. I do assure you that you are mistaken in supposing this to be the view taken of it by what you call ‘interested and short sighted party men’, but that all his most attached and intimate friends regret and deprecate the mischief it has created in the Party. Such indeed has been the effect out of doors that, as I believe I told you before, there has been a serious doubt upon the part of the persons promoting the

¹ In November 1830 the Duke of Wellington had made a very indiscreet speech against Reform (see p. 48, Vol. II.).

petition against the return of the Members for London, whether it is worth their while to be at the necessary expence and trouble of pursuing it, when there does not appear upon the part of the Duke any intention of pressing hard upon or annoying the Queen's Government, and the greatest difficulty is found in getting our people to come up to vote. What do you think of such men as the Clives declining to do so.

"Peel's speech last night will, I hope, in some degree correct this mischief, and as the Duke has I believe been told of the effect produced, he may, although not a man to blow hot and cold, say something which will make it evident that more has been made of these expressions than they deserve. . . .

"The Revolt in Canada appears to be put down."

Lord Wharncliffe was wrong in thinking that the Duke of Wellington would go back on what he had said. Writing on February 5, Greville says: "The Duke of Wellington was expected . . . to make some amends for his party by explaining away the exculpatory remarks with which he had before assisted his opponents. But not a bit: he repeated the same thing, and made a second speech quite as moderate as his first. The Duke is therefore incorrigible. My mother told him the other day how angry they were with him for what he had said, and he only replied, 'Depend upon it, it was true.'"

From Lord Wharncliffe to Lady Wharncliffe

"CURZON STREET,

"January 27, 1838.

" . . . Last night in the House of Commons was a night of great triumph to Peel. He has made the Government shape the bill for the Government of Canada entirely in his own way, and adopt all his amendments. I was there to hear him and John Russell, and certainly never heard any thing more skilfully and powerfully done than Peel's reply to Johnny, which crushed him so that the people behind

him could not even raise a cheer. Never did a Government eat so much or such vile diet as they have done upon this occasion, and they are now in office, under the pleasing position of having had one of their great measures so dealt with by the opposition as to be converted into their own. The Rads would, as appears clearly from Whittle Harvey and Hume's speeches, have voted with us, and Government would in all probability have been left in a minority. To avoid this, that most fair spoken of all men, Edward Ellice, gets up on Thursday night begging Johnny to give way, and so he does on Friday, after having tried to prevent a house being made, in order that they might have a little more time to get (I suppose) their Irish friends here in time to support them. They don't mind these things however, and nothing but actual force will remove them. . . ."

From the Hon. James Stuart Wortley to Lady Wharncliffe

"YORK, Sunday, March 4, 1838.

". . . You have had a stirring & interesting week in London since I left you, & the events of the last few days cannot but be fraught with great results, although an immediate dissolution of the Ministry may not ensue. Even their staunchest friends are now on all hands obliged to admit that they stand in a most pitiful condition. I can hardly imagine that Peel can support Molesworth's¹ motion & shall be sorry to see it, but if there is the whip you speak of, he must intend to turn the occasion in some way to his advantage. It will be most interesting to watch our leader's course. . . ."

From the Hon. James Stuart Wortley to Lady Wharncliffe

"YORK, July 9, 1838.

". . . I send a *line* to report that I am once more arrived thus far upon my circuit. . . .

¹ Sir William Molesworth, 8th Bart. (1810-55). M.P. for East Cornwall, 1855. Attacked Glenelg's Colonial policy.

“ The most remarkable incident as yet has been that *Mr. Roebuck*,¹ who has just joined us for the first time, pitched upon me to introduce him to the circuit, which I did at dinner this day. He claimed acquaintance with me as having sat in the same House of Commons though on opposite sides, & of course I met this good feeling on his part more than half way. The sacred proverb says ‘ the fool maketh a rod for his own back ’, & I only hope that the introduction of so formidable a rival may not fulfil the saying in this instance. Unfeignedly I rejoice that he has joined us, for, whatever else he may be, he is certainly a man of great talent, and our society was daily becoming more deficient in that respect. I doubt much his success in his profession, from want of good judgment and temper, but at any rate we may range him among the numberless clever men who have adorned our circuit.

“ I had a sheep stealing case from near Wortley to day & had to examine Senior & John Surtees ; you may suppose I felt quite *at home*. . . .”

From the Hon. James Stuart Wortley to Lady Wharncliffe

“ YORK, August 31, 1838.

“ . . . I attended the Cattle Show Dinner, & the Whigs did all they could to job it & keep it exclusively amongst themselves, but their object was in some measure defeated by a tolerable muster of Tory gentlemen who joined them. They selected *all* the speakers however from their own selves, & it was only by the accident of Mr. Denison of Kildwick winning a prize, & therefore necessarily having his health proposed, that any one of our kidney had an opportunity of opening his mouth. His reception however by the meeting was

¹ John Arthur Roebuck (1801–79). M.P. for Sheffield 1849–68 and 1874–79. He was educated in Canada and was Agent in England for the House of Assembly in Lower Canada. He moved for Committee of Enquiry into the conduct of the Crimean War. Was a supporter of Lord Beaconsfield’s policy, and became a Privy Councillor.

most marked & the only enthusiastic one of the evening, which must have been sufficiently galling to the Whigs, who thought that they had so arranged as to keep all the honours to themselves. We sat down about 1200 to dinner, & a most substantial looking company it was. Lord Harewood was there, but the *managers* never even proposed his health, & he went away without opening his mouth. The whole scheme however was too gross not to be seen through & it has created much talk, & redounded very little to the advantage of its authors. Upon the whole it was a very flat affair.

“I am delighted to see so much praise of John’s literary production,¹ & am longing to read it. . . .”

¹ *Memoirs of George Monk, Duke of Albemarle* ; translated from the French of M. Guizot and edited with additional notes and illustrations by the Hon. John Stuart Wortley.

CHAPTER XXXII

(1839-1840)

Melbourne's Government losing ground—Row about the Queen's Household—The Government stay in—Letter from Strathfieldsaye—Lady Salisbury—The Lady Flora Hastings affair—A grant of £30,000 for Education opposed by Gladstone—The Queen grave and agitated—James Stuart Wortley visits Mount Stuart—Lord Wharncliffe sails to Walmer Castle—The Duke in great force—Lord Durham not a success in Canada : but his Report masterly—Letter from Thomas Talbot : distinguished settler in Canada—Ravensworth—Queen Adelaide and Queen Victoria—Prince Albert's compositions—James advances in profession—Death of Lord Durham—Death of Princess Augusta—Lady Emmeline and the *Quarterly*.

THROUGH the first half of 1839 the Government was losing strength and popularity. On May 6 its majority fell down to five, in a House of 583. On May 7 Melbourne resigned, and Peel, by the advice of the Duke of Wellington, was sent for. Then occurred one of the strangest episodes in English politics. Peel declined to take office unless the Whig ladies who formed the Queen's household were removed. The Queen declined to consent to a course which she described as contrary to usage and repugnant to her feelings. Under these circumstances Melbourne was recalled, declaring that he resumed office in order not to abandon his Sovereign in a situation of difficulty and distress.

The Melbourne Government remained in office for two more years, but with certain alterations in the Cabinet. Russell went to the Colonial Office ; Lord Normanby, who had been Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, became Home Secretary ; Francis Baring replaced Spring Rice as Chancellor of the Exchequer ; while Macaulay became Secretary at War.

From Lady Wharncliffe to the Hon. Mrs. J. C. Talbot

“STRATHFIELDSAYE,

“*Friday, Jan. 11, 1839.*

“Here we are dearest Missy & very *comfortable*. I was in no small degree of anxiety before I arrived yesterday as to who I should meet, & whether I should find a large or a small party. You may judge therefore how relieved I was at finding Lady Salisbury in the room we were shown into, & at her telling me that she was the *only woman* in the house. The only men are Lord Bathurst, ‘mon ami’ *Bonham*, & *Billy Holmes*—just such individuals as I should have *chosen*, since it produces quantities of political talk with the Duke and the Governor. Lady Salisbury¹ is recovering from a tedious attack of ague, & looks ill & very thin, but she says she is improving daily, tho’ still very weak, & is in good spirits. Our party is so small that she cannot *engross the Duke*, & as a companion she suits me better than most people I know so little, being very sensible, & quite unaffected & agreeable. We had this morning a long tête-a-tête, & conversation upon modern Education, and we agreed on many points.

“Since luncheon we have been over to call on Lady Frances Cole, about three miles off, at a very pretty place of the Duke’s. *This* place is large & has some good points, but is not pretty; & the House stands low & in the worst possible place for the view, tho’ a river runs along it a little way from the house, but the shores are so flat that it must be damp.

“The *great Man* is I am happy to say very well again, with a good healthy skin, less thin, & in good spirits. His eye is bright, & countenance easy & cheerful, & Lady Salisbury says he is wonderfully improved since she was with him at Walmer. But tho’ his rheumatism is almost well, he cannot yet hold *up his head*, which of course

¹ Frances Mary, daughter and heiress of Bamber Gascoyne, of Child-wall Hall, Lincs. She was the mother of the great Marquis of Salisbury.

gives his figure a greater look of age than he has a right to. However I find his Doctor says that will all come *right* in time, & he is already much better. It is very interesting to see him here in his own house, & doing the country gentleman. Several neighbours dined here yesterday, & the simple & cordial civility of his manner was charming. He does not *hunt*, but takes riding & walking exercise when it does not rain, & confesses to taking care of himself. As to his mind & memory, they are as clear as ever. In short I really hope we shall keep him *many many* years. . . .

“The house here is large & comfortable, but not fine.”

From the Hon. James Stuart Wortley to Lady Wharncliffe

“DURHAM, March 7, 1839.

“. . . I find that poor Lady Flora Hastings’¹ story has now transpired & is generally known, though I bottled it up amongst my companions here, as bringing a young lady’s name into question in a most unfortunate manner. I heard also to day that Sir James Clark had been dismissed, & an apology written by the Queen, & I hope this is true as nothing short of this will set the poor girl’s character up again, so prone is the world to insist that there must be something wrong where such a report arises. I find this is the way the matter is spoken of by those who know nothing of the parties. . . . ”

In the summer of 1839 the question of Elementary Education was for the first time engaging the attention of the country. Lord John Russell brought forward a scheme for creating a Committee of the Privy Council to supervise the spending of a grant of £30,000 to be spent on National Education. Absurdly small as was this grant—“the fraction of the Revenues of one day”, as Carlyle described it—the

¹ Lady Flora, daughter of 1st Marquess of Hastings. Lady of the Bedchamber to the Duchess of Kent. Lady Flora had been unjustly accused of immorality. The change in her appearance was due, however, to a disease, to which she succumbed, July 1839.

Church and the Conservative churchmen saw in it a menace to the Church of England. In a sense they were doubtless right. The School Board, of which this committee was the embryo, has turned Church teaching out of the schools. Nevertheless it was as inevitable in its way as the Reform Bill had been. Curiously enough the sympathies of the populace were with the clergy, and not with the Liberal Ministers. W. E. Gladstone, at that time a Conservative, voted against the grant.

From Lady Wharncliffe to the Hon. Mrs. J. C. Talbot

“CURZON STREET,
“Friday, July 12, 1839.

“ . . . I have nothing to tell you except that it is *true* that the Archbishop¹ & Bishop² of London, &c., were loudly cheer’d yesterday in going up with the resolutions; & the Ministers unmercifully hiss’d & *groan’d* at by an immense body of people assembled about the Palace to see them pass. We were told also that the Queen for the first time not only looked grave, but *agitated*, in reading her answer, & her hand *trembled*. I hope her eyes are a little open’d. . . .”

From the Hon. James Stuart Wortley to Lady Wharncliffe

“DURHAM, July 26, 1839.

“ . . . The Government have brought things to a pretty pass at last, & people here are a good deal alarmed about the Chartists, but I think their alarms are somewhat exaggerated, as their leaders, if so they can be called, are of the most contemptible class both in station, ability & courage. Our *connexion* the Mayor of Birmingham seems to me to be in a scrape, for his own statement in his defence appears to establish sufficient to convict him both of negligence and pusillanimity.”

¹ William Howley, Archbishop of Canterbury. Translated from London.

² See p. 83, Vol. II.

From the Hon. James Stuart Wortley to Lady Wharncliffe

“ MOUNTSTUART, August 9, 1839.

“ In compliance with our Chieftain’s ¹ wishes I left the Circuit at Carlisle, & came down to this very pretty Island to shew myself to the *independent* Electors, although not with any purpose of an immediate canvass. It has been a most agreeable relief to the daily tedium of the Court, & as both yesterday & today have been very fine days I have enjoyed it exceedingly. This really is a most enjoyable place, the house is hideous, the grounds are so very pretty that they make up for the ugliness of the building. You would delight in its capabilities, but from being so little lived at the pleasure grounds are sadly overgrown. There are very few flowers except in a very small garden laid out by Lady Bute, which is not seen from the house, and is enclosed from the rest of the grounds, in which indeed the flowers would have had a bad chance amongst the hares and roe-deer which abound in the woods.

“ The house overlooks the Frith of Clyde, which is constantly alive with vessels of all sizes passing up & down to & from Glasgow & Greenock, & with the woods feathering down to the water’s edge, & the pleasure grounds extending actually along the beach you have the same enjoyment as if it were a private lake, instead of one of the great ports of the Kingdom. . . .”

“ I shall leave this on Monday by steam for Liverpool, which will be the least agreeable part of the expedition. When do you leave Town ? ”

From Lord Wharncliffe to Lady Wharncliffe

“ WALMER CASTLE, August 29, 1839.

“ I sailed from Spithead yesterday at $\frac{1}{4}$ before 6, and did not get up to my anchorage off this place till 2 o’clock this morning. It was next thing to a calm

¹ John, 2nd Marquess of Bute, head of the Stuart family, of which the Stuart Wortleys are a branch. Married, 1st, Maria, daughter of 3rd Earl of Guilford; 2nd, Sophie, daughter of 1st Marquess of Hastings.

for an hour off Bognor, to which place we brought a light air of wind with us. By the time the breeze sprung up we had lost our tide and we had to run 8 hours against the tide, which delayed us. However it blew a smart breeze, and we made the most of it. Off Hastings night was coming on, and the wind was quite on shore with a good deal of sea, so I thought it better not to attempt to land there, and to go on meaning to make Dover Harbour. When off there at one o'clock in the morning, there was a little bother about getting in, and so I came on and anchored under the Castle, and landed just in time for the Duke's breakfast, with whom I found Arbuthnot only. You can't conceive what a beautiful sight it was, altho' it blew fresh. I think I never saw anything more splendid than the Dover Cliffs lit up by the moon. . . .

"I find the Duke expects the Lords Brougham, Lyndhurst and Forrester today. Who else is coming I don't know. The old housekeeper [in Lord Liverpool's time], Mrs. Norman, has been enquiring most tenderly after you and all the family. . . .

"Only think of its having been 19 years since we were here."

From Lord Wharncliffe to Lady Wharncliffe

"WALMER CASTLE, August 30, 1839.

"We have a most jolly party here, Brougham, Lyndhurst, Canterbury, Forrester, Barham & Arbuthnot, with the Duke in great force, and we all set off for our dinner at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 3.

"I have got your letter of yesterday, but C. Greville's news had been anticipated by our arrivals from London. These changes look very much like the last agonies of ministerial vitality. . . .

"I shall very probably stay here all tomorrow, and sail from hence or from Ramsgate, where the Romulus is, on Sunday morning, and so get up to town as soon as I can, and to Oatlands on Monday. . . ."

Lord Durham's administration in Canada, in spite of his Liberal opinions, his ability, and his great knowledge of affairs, had not been a success. His edict of transportation against Papineau¹ and the other leaders was not only high-handed, it was illegal. It raised a storm against him in the House of Commons here. After denouncing the Government in a violent proclamation, he resigned. The great justification for his appointment was revealed in the masterly report which he issued later. On its recommendations the new Government of Canada was modelled, giving peace and contentment to the Dominion, and lasting fame to its author.

Lord Durham left Quebec on November 1, 1838, only five months after his arrival. Immediately after his departure the insurrection broke out again, and was complicated by a guerilla invasion from the United States. The rebellion was finally suppressed before the end of 1838.

The letter following is from a member of the Talbot family who had settled in Canada.

From Thomas Talbot² to the Hon. Mrs. J. C. Talbot

“PORT TALBOT (CANADA),
“September 10th, 1839.

“MY DEAR MISSY,

“For the future I will address you, my dear Friend, as I do not think it altogether correct to call a married Lady with a great big Son, *Missy*.

“Well, your kind and affectionate letter of the 26th of July from Broadstairs proved in deed a revival of old times, for with the exception of a letter from your brother John, I had not seen the handwriting of one of the family for upwards of a year. Thanks to Mrs. Jameson's Book, ‘Winter Studies and Summer Rambles in Canada,’ which John got hold of, and the account she gives of myself and Port Talbot, had the effect of propelling him to sit down to write to me, but to be

¹ A descendant of Papineau fought and was killed in the war, 1914-18.

² Thomas Talbot (1771-1855). Younger brother of Admiral Sir John Talbot. Settled in Canada. Founded 28 townships to the north of Lake Erie.

sure he was at Wortley where he had nothing else to do. I hope that you have read the book also. Her description is odd, and I allow in many parts true. . . . In the present state of Canada, sink or swim, it is impossible to leave my property.

“The country has been tolerably quiet for some months past & would continue to be so were it not for our nefarious neighbours the Yanky’s, who are now endeavouring to excite discontent and form associations under the cloak of Durhamites to commence fresh disturbances. They have actually got vast quantities of what the Yanky’s call Bowie knives, large Butcher’s knives, made to murder all us Loyalists. Some of these knives are stamped ‘Durham’, some ‘Reform’ knives, and others ‘responsible Government knives’. So far we are indebted to that fellow Lord Durham, but I am of opinion that they will not make any attempt until the Winter, when the navigation of the Lakes is closed and the Rivers frozen so as to admit of their crossing on the Ice. As far as newspaper accounts, you are almost in as critical a state in England, but if times were right under an honest and determined Ministry, we might again enjoy security and happiness. For my own part I am blessed with excellent health & constitution, and the growing improvements of *my* Kingdom fully occupies and amuses me. . . .”

From Lord Wharncliffe to Lady Wharncliffe

“RAVENSWORTH,

“*Sunday night* [? Nov. 1, 1839].

“I write you a few lines before I go to bed, just to say that I shall go on as I intended tomorrow towards Wortley. I could have staid here longer with the greatest pleasure, for I know of no place where I always find myself so completely at home and comfortable as here. There is a sort of good nature and kindness among these people which is very uncommon, and they always treat me as if I belonged to them. The talent

of the family is very extraordinary too, for there is not one of them that can't do something well, of which I have had another proof to-day. Their son, Robert,¹ who is a clergyman, preached at their church today a charity sermon at a short notice, which quite took me by surprise, for I expected nothing but a common place affair, instead of which it was one of the very best and most satisfactory performances I ever heard, and eloquent too. . . . I don't know whether you remember that he married one of Gerald Wellesley's daughters two or three years ago when he was only a curate in these parts, and he now has the living of Barking in Essex, about 8 or 10 miles from London, and is in all respects an excellent clergyman. . . ."

"I am 63 years old today !!!!!!!!!!!!! . . ."

From Lady Wharncliffe to the Hon. Mrs. J. C. Talbot

"CURZON STREET,

"Tuesday, Dec. 25, 1839.

"I am just return'd from dining at Marlboro' House. . . . I found my dear Queen [Adelaide] recover'd from her cold, & very well. Immediately after dinner, before the gentlemen came out & her Ladies in the next room, she open'd a parcel which had arrived from the Queen [Victoria]. It contain'd a beautiful bracelet, with her hair, very *quiet & good taste* & fit for every day. She was much pleased with it & with the letter which accompanied it, which was in *German* & in German characters, & then told me that when she was at Windsor she had said to the Queen she should like much to get a German letter from her *some day*. She said it was very well written, & that she now writes in german to Prince *Albert*. Of *him*, she gives a very favourable report, from all she has heard, & told us that he not only loved music—how lucky!—but *composed*

¹ The Hon. and Rev. Robert Liddell (1808–88). Married, 1836, Emily Ann Charlotte, daughter of the Hon and Rev. Gerald Valerian Wellesley. Was vicar of St. Paul's, Knightsbridge, 1851–81.

very well indeed, & that the Queen had asked her to come at five o'clock one day to hear her sing some of his music. Accordingly she went, & I think it was in the Duchess of Kent's apartment—& there she remained singing her *Albert's compositions* till seven. . . .”

From Lady Wharncliffe to the Hon. Mrs. J. C. Talbot

“OATLANDS [near WEYBRIDGE],

“Tuesday, Jan. 8, 1840.

“I have got a letter from you this evening per train which would have come naturally to-morrow morning, & for which I must thank you to night My dearest Missy, to send by an opportunity to Town in the morning, which saves a day. . . .

“I am glad poor Lord Talbot is about again. *My* Lord is in the same state, having taken a drive or two, & to day *walk'd* a very little with a stick. He talks of going up by the railroad to-morrow or next day, to *revive* himself a little by spending an hour or two at the Carlton to hear the news & gossip of the Town, & then come strait back. . . .

“This is the last of the Governor's franks that you can receive ! Dont you hate the new plan ? ” ¹

From the Hon. James Stuart Wortley to Lady Wharncliffe

“LONDON, January 11, 1840.

“. . . I have to leave Town again on Tuesday night for York, and in the intervening time I have to get up a speech & argument in a case coming on there in which I have to read all the papers, consisting of such an enormous mass that by devoting both mornings and evenings to it (Sunday not excepted) I shall have difficulty in getting through them. A moderate sized Portmanteau will give you some idea of the dimensions

¹ The penny postage introduced in January 1840 by Lord Melbourne's Government on the lines recommended by Rowland Hill in his pamphlet on Postage Reform.

of my brief which I have only three days to devour and *digest*.

“I have no news, but I have seen scarcely anybody yet. A report however is prevalent, with *some grounds* I believe, that Lord Grey intends to come forward in public life again to attempt the construction of a juste milieu government. I think he is however almost past this, although Coppy told me that he has lately been in remarkably good health. . . .”

From the Hon. James Stuart Wortley to Lady Wharncliffe

“CARLISLE, February 20, 1840.

“According to my promise & to my usual practice, I write to announce my safe arrival upon my Circuit ; indeed so easy is the journey now, that by the help of the Railroad I left London last night at $\frac{1}{2}$ p. 8 & arrived here (300 miles) to day at $\frac{1}{4}$ before 5 in the afternoon. It was bitterly cold, but I did not suffer at all as I was well wrapped up in the fur cloak and boots that I bought last autumn in Germany. . . .”

From the Hon. James Stuart Wortley to Lady Wharncliffe

“NEWCASTLE, February 26, 1840.

“I only write one line to say that I am flourishing in business here, where the part I had in Bolam’s Trial at the last Assizes & the promotion of Dundas¹ have been of great service to me. I have however a painful task tomorrow, to defend an unfortunate woman for murdering her child, & the case is frightfully strong against her. Besides this I have three other briefs, & I have one to defend some of the Chartists for one of their meetings during the last summer. This amuses me & I shall, if I have an opportunity, take a slap at the Ministers & their proceedings. . . .”

¹ David Dundas (1799–1877), barrister ; M.P. for Sutherlandshire ; Knighted 1847 ; Judge Advocate General and Privy Councillor.

From the Hon. James Stuart Wortley to Lady Wharncliffe

“LIVERPOOL, April 3, 1840.

“ . . . I have had far more business here than I have ever had before, & believe that I may flatter myself that I have made a considerable advance. Amongst others I have a brief in the most important Cause of the assize, in which Sir W. Follett¹ is coming down upon a special retainer. I have also had two or three cases to *lead*, & yesterday I succeeded in one of them contrary to the hopes or expectations of either my client or myself, & against the best exertions of the Leader of our Circuit, Mr. Creswell. Upon the whole I have been very prosperous. . . .

“We hear many reports of resignations & dissolutions, but they have cried ‘Wolf’ so often that I distrust them.”

From the Hon. James Stuart Wortley to Lady Wharncliffe

“DURHAM, July 30, 1840.

“ . . . We have just heard of poor Lord Durham’s death, which, as you may suppose, creates a strong sensation in this his own particular county. The death of a man still so young & certainly of very considerable talents, is melancholy, but it cannot be regarded as any great national calamity : probably his Dictatorship & the mortifications attending its close have hastened the catastrophe. . . .”

From the Hon. James Stuart Wortley to Lady Wharncliffe

“LEVENS, August 13, 1840.

“ . . . You should not stay in London so late in the year, My dearest Mams, I am sure that you require change of air and place oftener.

“This place is more perfect & more pretty than ever. *Your Queen* [Queen Adelaide] came to see this place

¹ Sir William Webb Follett (1798–1845). Solicitor-General under Peel, 1834–35 ; and in 1841. Attorney-General, 1844.

& expressed herself delighted with it. I am happy also to tell you that I hear nothing but praises of poor dear Adelaide throughout this district, where she has gained the good opinions and attachment of all classes."

From the Hon. James Stuart Wortley to Lady Wharncliffe

"LEVENS, August 15, 1840.

" . . . I am glad to hear that Mr. Huth of Liverpool expresses himself so well satisfied with John Talbot's labours & mine, & as I believe that he has it in his power to serve us more effectually than by mere expression of his gratitude, I hope that we shall both of us in due season reap further fruit from our exertions. We had the good fortune to gain for him & his clients a most signal victory over the *Rads* of Liverpool, & to defeat a gross Whig Job.

"The more I see of this old house the more I like it, & more kind or hospitable people than it's master & mistress are not to be found. . . .

"What do you say to Pow's¹ Peerage? What makes it more absurd is that besides having done nothing yet to deserve it, he has got part of a title which was refused to Sir John Colborne.² Sir John wanted to be Lord Colborne of Toronto because he said that if he deserved the honours of the peerage at all, that Upper Canada & its capital Toronto were the scenes of his services. This however was flatly refused by Lord Melbourne, & one can only account for it by supposing that *Pow* went out with his title in his pocket ready cut & dried before any services at all had been performed either at *Toronto* or elsewhere, & as the price of his retire-

¹ Charles Edward Poulett Thomson (1799-1841), President of Board of Trade, 1834. Governor-General of Canada, 1839, when he accomplished union of different provinces. Created Baron Sydenham, 1840.

² Sir John Colborne (1778-1863), Secretary to Sir John Moore, 1808-9. Lieutenant-General by Moore's dying request, 1809. Commanded 52nd Foot in Peninsula and at Waterloo. K.C.B., 1815. Governor of Upper Canada, 1830. Crushed Canadian revolt, 1838. Created Baron Seaton, 1839. Field-Marshal, 1860.

ment from the Cabinet. This is 'too bad' & (if I was ever guilty of a pun) I should say 'too-wrong-too'. . . ."

From Lady Wharncliffe to the Hon. Mrs. J. C. Talbot

"BRIGHTON, Sunday, Aug. 16, 1840.

" . . . I think I may say with confidence that the experiment we are making here has every prospect of success, & we have heard one or two more such cases of astonishing cures that it has quite *cheer'd* the Governor, & almost reconciled him to being here. We are very well lodged, but certainly too high up, as we only get a sprinkling of promenaders past our windows, which makes it dull, & the Governor complains bitterly of it, & swears he never will come again to this Hotel. But you never saw anything so magnificent as the new road & walk along the cliff, which extends now all the way up to Kemp Town. It is an immense improvement for the appearance, as well as for comfort. It is really a grand work, for they have almost doubled the breadth of the cliff by building an immense Sea Wall with a strong rail along the top, & then filling up the whole of the space between it & the old cliff.

"The Governor is up and at the Spa every morning at eight o'clock, & has already reach'd *four* glasses, & is to go on to six or seven if he *can*. He drinks Carlsbad & Marienbad mix'd ; & *I* the Kissengen & Ems. . . .

"This is the *first* day that I have been able to walk at all, & of course I feel a good deal tired, but enjoyed the air very much. It has been delightfully soft & yet reviving ever since we came, but blowing so constantly a gale that it has been quite a bore & destroyed all pleasure even in driving. We have been watching all this afternoon a little Vessel so like the *Romulus* that the Governor thinks it must be her, tho' she has been windbound at Ramsgate for many days, after two [or] three attempts to come on. But there has been rather less wind this morning, & she is probably intending to go into Shoreham as soon as the tide serves. . . ."

From the Hon. James Stuart Wortley to Lady Wharncliffe

“LIVERPOOL, August 26, 1840.

“ . . . I am afraid these Railway accidents will make you worse than ever, but they ought to have a contrary effect, for they will teach greater caution to those who manage them ; & though the mischief is severe it will seem like inoculation to prevent the spread of the disease.”

From Lady Wharncliffe to the Hon. Mrs. J. C. Talbot

“WORTLEY HALL,

“September 24th, /40.

“ . . . This mornings post has brought the news I have so long expected ; & truly am I grieved at the loss of my kind & excellent Princess !¹ It was impossible however to be so selfish as to wish her life to be prolonged, so cruel & almost constant were her sufferings for some time past. Hardly any body knew her real value, & she was a very rare mixture, of the gentlest & kindest nature, with strong & almost masculine self command whenever duty or consideration for others required it. It was impossible not to love as well as respect her when one knew her well, & I really feel as if I had lost some Aunt I was much attach'd to, for her kindness to myself has been for several years unvarying.”

From Lady Wharncliffe to the Hon. Mrs. J. C. Talbot

“DONCASTER,

“Thursday, Oct. 8, 1840.

“In the present disturbed state of the post in many parts, my two counsellors, the Governor & John, advise my sending my letter to day by the regular N. post, rather than by Sheffield, tho' that seems the most natural from here to Levens. . . .

“After all *money* is a great blessing, I feel it more

¹ Augusta Sophia, second daughter of George III., died September 22, 1840.

every day, for it facilitates all the most rational & every day business of life, & would in this case put four horses to their carriage & take a good house in town for them for as many weeks or months as they might choose ! But no, the coals that warm one, & the oil that lights one, every *mouthful* one eats must be measur'd & consider'd ! And as to *post* horses ! & lodgings ! they are seldom to be thought of for mere pleasure or convenience ! Even *railroads* with a family are not cheap.

“ I have not yet seen the *Quarterly*,¹ & am almost afraid of it, as I shall find Emmeline as well as *it* at Wortley when I go back, & I fear she will be much annoyed, & *I* shall feel *conscious*, & sorry for her poor thing, tho' I wish it may do her good. When you come to Wortley you must read ‘ *Eva* ’ (*her Tragedy*).² It shews a great deal of cleverness, & has some pretty lines & less exaggeration than usual. I wonder if the *Quarterly* reviews it ? . . . ”

¹ An article in the *Quarterly* dealing with the poetesses of the day had, to a certain extent, ridiculed Lady Emmeline. Alluding to this article, Mrs. Norton, whose own works had been criticised in it, writes : “ If the author of the article knew Lady Emmeline Wortley he would be too much in love with her to laugh at her. She is the truest, simplest woman that ever was bitten by romance. . . . Not that I defend my lady's high-flown language and starry sublimities at all times, but she is so gentle and earnest and real that I feel a little unhappy when I read the Review.”

² A play in five acts in verse by Lady Emmeline Stuart Wortley.

CHAPTER XXXIII

(1840-1842)

France and England in collision—Fall of Beyrout—Birth of Princess Royal—Last letter from Lady Erne—Resignation of Melbourne—The Queen sends for Peel—Lord Wharncliffe President of the Council : Lord - Lieutenant of West Riding—New Ministers at Windsor—James Stuart Wortley goes to France in Lord Wilton's schooner—Death of Lady Erne, January 1842—Party at Windsor—The King of Prussia—The opening of Parliament : the Queen's Speech : the paragraph on birth of her son hardly audible—Riots in West Riding—Wars in Afghanistan and China : brilliant endings—Charles and Emmeline's domestic life—James elected for County of Bute.

IN the autumn of 1840 events in Eastern Europe had nearly brought France and England into collision. The Sultan's able and ambitious Viceroy in Egypt, Mehemet Ali, was endeavouring to throw off his allegiance to Turkey and to establish an independent sovereignty. In July 1839 Lord Palmerston had, with some difficulty, brought about a concert of the European Powers, including France, of which the object was to uphold and defend Turkey against the possible aggression from Russia on the one hand, and the open rebellion of Mehemet Ali on the other. But France was never whole-heartedly in opposition to Mehemet Ali, for whom she cherished a sentimental affection dating back to Napoleon's Egyptian campaign.

Accordingly, Palmerston, feeling the need of vigorous action, concluded, in July 1840, a new Convention with Austria, Russia and Prussia, leaving out France. The French, though they had brought this on themselves, were deeply affronted.

On September 7 a British, Austrian and Turkish squadron

bombarded Beyrout. The Syrian population rose in passionate revolt against Ibrahim Pasha, Mehemet Ali's general. Beyrout fell, and on November 3 Acre was captured and Ibrahim fled southwards. The French, who had believed Mehemet to be invincible, angry and mortified, had to accept the *fait accompli*.

Had the campaign in Syria ended differently, there is little doubt the French would have supported Mehemet Ali, and we should have found ourselves at war with France. Greville, commenting on this whole affair, praises highly Lord Palmerston's vigorous policy. Chatham, he says, could not have manifested more vigour and resource. At the same time he accuses him of a passionate desire to humble France—a view with which James Stuart Wortley seems to agree.

The note alluded to in the following letter is probably a letter of Lord Palmerston's to Lord Granville (then Ambassador in Paris), strongly urging the right of the Sultan to rule as he chooses his dependencies in Syria and Egypt.

From the Hon. James Stuart Wortley to Lady Wharncliffe

“CARLTON CLUB,

“November 20, 1840.

“ . . . The fears of war are I think reviving since Palmerston's last note which all parties condemn as wholly unnecessary, & which has resuscitated all the former irritation amongst the french. We are now come to this position ; in Palmerston's note he asserts, or rather insinuates, the intention of the allies to proceed against Mehemet Ali even to his expulsion from Egypt, if he does not yield the Sovereignty of Syria to the demands of the allies, & on the other hand Louis Philippe & his pacific Ministers have declared in direct terms in a late article in the *Journal des Débats* (which of course you know is Louis Philippe's paper) that the instant any attempt is made to disturb Mehemet Ali in *Egypt*, France will step forward & take up arms to preserve the present balance of power in the East. Mehemet dont seem inclined to yield, & Sunday week

is the day to which the blockade of Alexandria was adjourned. Upon the whole the situation of affairs is once more ‘grave’, & for my part I *fear*. The sacrifice of Palmerston is the only thing to appease the French nation, & if the leading Tories dont support him he must, I think, go by the board. . . .

“As an illustration of what are *Irish facts* (saving your Ladyship’s presence) there are letters in Town to day, some stating positively that Lord Plunkett¹ has been sitting daily during the week in his Court, & other stating as broadly that he has not appeared in Court at all. . . .”

On November 21, 1840, Princess Victoria (the Princess Royal), afterwards Empress of Germany, was born. As this was the first child born to the Queen, intense interest was felt by the whole nation.

From the Hon. James Stuart Wortley to Lady Wharncliffe

“LONDON, November 21, 1840.

“A *Princess* ! The Queen was brought to bed of a daughter about one o’clock to day & up to the last accounts, both are doing well. My first impression was that of great disappointment at the *sex*, but reflexion satisfies me that I was wrong, & that if all goes on well it is the happiest of all possible events in a long-sighted view of the question. In the first place there is little doubt but that we shall have princes in good time ; in the next place a daughter is sufficient to exclude *Ernest* of Hanover, and lastly we may now hope that the Prince of Wales will be born under the auspices of a Tory Government. This is enough news for one day, so I will attempt no more. . . .

“I have just seen Labouchere² who tells me the

¹ William Conyngham Plunket (1764–1854). Solicitor and Attorney-General in Ireland. Raised to the peerage, 1827. Was Lord Chancellor of Ireland, 1830–41, excepting a short interval in Peel’s Government, 1834–35.

² Henry Labouchere, 1st Baron Taunton (1798–1869). Held office in various Liberal Governments. Raised to the peerage, 1859.

accounts from the Palace are as *good as possible*, & that the Queen is extraordinarily strong & well."

From the Hon. James Stuart Wortley to Lady Wharncliffe

"CARLTON CLUB,
"Monday, November 23.

"No news is good news in a case like our little Queen's; but beyond this kind of negative good news, report says that no person ever was so well & strong under the same circumstances. The night before last she slept from 11 o'clock till 8 without moving, & last night I believe she slept equally well. The event has created very little sensation in the Town, which may be accounted for partly by the disappointment at it's not being a *prince*, & partly by the paucity of people in London.

". . . I saw Gooma yesterday in perfect health & spirits. She repeated to me *by heart* part of one of Gay's fables quite fluently & accurately."

In July 1841 we have the last letter from Lady Erne. It gives a rather touching picture of her in her last days at Hampton Court. She died in the following January.

From Lady Erne to Lady Wharncliffe

"HAMPTON COURT PALACE,
"July 20, 1841.

"I fully intended dearest to have written to you yesterday, but felt as if I could *not raise a pen from the inkstand*. But to day, having received a letter from you I must send you a few lines of affectionate acknowledgement, though little better able. The weather is really *assommant*, & now, that I am bereaved of my kind Visitor Lady Anne Smith, I have to encounter it without *succor*, the darkness adding to the difficulty of any occupation. I am very glad that you have had the good fortune of finding your Friends the Duchess of Buccleugh & Lady Rivers at Brighton. Emily Boyle is with the Seymours, but the numerous Visitors who

crowd to see her at Lady G. Seymour's prevent my benefiting much by their neighbourhood, & I must own also that the state of my old Head makes me little fit for company. My *Cats & kittens* afford me *some* amusement, & to confess the truth such as is better suited to my small remaining Intellect.

"Your account of Johny & Cissy is delightful—of those *gambols* I *should* like to be Spectator. Here is Ghee telling me it is time for my letter—tant mieux dearest for you & for me. So Adieu, God bless you & yours.

"Most affectionately yours,

"M. C. E."

Lord Melbourne's Government had been growing for some time more and more shaky, and in May 1841 an effort to reduce the duties on corn and sugar had caused the defeat of the Government by thirty-six votes. Peel then proposed a vote of want of confidence, which was carried by one vote. Parliament dissolved in June, and the Tories obtained a majority in the new House of over 70. It was in this election that John Stuart Wortley won for his party such a signal triumph in the West Riding, defeating, with the help of Evelyn Denison,¹ the eldest sons of the two great Whig houses of Yorkshire—Lord Milton and Lord Morpeth.

On August 30 Melbourne resigned and the Queen sent for Peel. In the new administration Lyndhurst was Lord Chancellor, Graham Home Secretary, Stanley Secretary for War and the Colonies, while Lord Aberdeen was at the Foreign Office and Lord Wharncliffe President of the Council. Among the minor appointments were Lord Canning, Lord Dalhousie, Sidney Herbert and Gladstone. Disraeli was not included. The Duke of Wellington was Minister without portfolio.

In this year Lord Wharncliffe became also Lord-Lieutenant of the West Riding of Yorkshire, an office which he held till his death.

¹ John Evelyn Denison (1800–1876), Speaker of House of Commons, 1857 to 1872. Created Viscount Ossington.

From Lady Wharncliffe to the Hon. Mrs. J. C. Talbot

“ CURZON STREET,

“ *Wednesday, Sept. 15, 1841.*

“ I did not answer your letter yesterday dearest Missy because I thought you would like to hear to day how the party at Windsor went off. The Governor went there with Lord Haddington, & returned this morning by the railroad. He says that nothing could be more satisfactory than the whole affair. The Queen was good-humour'd & civil to them all ; & enquired of the Governor after you & me very graciously. They lunch'd first, & after the Council they were told to amuse themselves as they liked till five o'clock, in which interval several of them walk'd to Eton to see their Sons or grandsons, & Eddy [the 3rd Lord Wharncliffe] walk'd back with the Governor to the Castle. At five they all went out driving or riding with the Queen, & dined at night. The Governor took in Lady Portman who sat next to Albert ; & he found himself placed between her and Lady Sydney,¹ so he was very lucky. On the Queen's right she had the Duke of Wellington, & after she was gone Albert call'd the Governor up to him, & the Duke was very agreeable & amused them with campaigning anecdotes.

“ After dinner there was a *circle* for a short time, & then the gentlemen were all set down to *Whist* or chess, which is a great improvement of late.

“ The Governor says Peel seem's perfectly self possessed & at his ease ; & he says that there has never been even a *hitch* about any thing from the first. There are still no diplomatic appointments, which seems strange. After all Lady Camden is *not* appointed, but Lady Dunmore *is*, which I am glad of. There still remains one to fill up. By the bye I hear Lady Harriet Clive has resign'd, (I dont know why) so that I should not be surprised if *you* should hear something soon. At

¹ See p. 152, Vol. II.

the same time, I think that with the precedent of Lady Caroline Barrington the Queen is very likely to appoint her friend Lady Catherine Harcourt. . . .”

From the Hon. James Stuart Wortley to Lady Wharncliffe

“RYDE, I. OF WIGHT,

“October 2, 1841.

“Here is a beautiful day with a light breeze from the N.E. so that we are going to get under weigh for Havre this afternoon at three o'clock, and I will send you a line from the other side of the channel as soon after my arrival as I can. I shall proceed to Paris, so pray send my letters directed to me Poste Restante. I go with the Wiltons¹ and Lord de Ros in Lord Wilton's schooner; my reason for preferring it to the Steamer is an anxiety to try my sea stomach, and because I shall have agreeable company, and learning something of the management of a vessel which is of use to me in my profession. Indeed I have already picked up a good deal in the course of our yachting expeditions.

“Goodbye Dearest Mama, I think we shall have a charming passage.”

From the Hon. James Stuart Wortley to Lady Wharncliffe

“HAVRE DE GRACE,

“3 October, 1841, $\frac{1}{2}$ p. 11. A.M.

“We have just come to our moorings in the basin of this port after a most excellent voyage. We left the Nab Light (off Portsmouth) at 10. m. past 4 yesterday afternoon, & had so nice and favourable a breeze that we saw the lights on the French coast at Fécamp about $\frac{1}{2}$ past 11 last night. We then shortened sail so as not to arrive before daylight, and this morning after an hour or two of all but calm the breeze sprung up again, and we came into port at the top of the tide about 10 o'clock. We have had very little motion & no suspicion of sickness, and nothing can be more luxurious than the

¹ See p. 266, Vol. II.

cabin in which we dine, breakfast and make music with an excellent pianoforte. Last night we sung duetts & trios after dinner just as if we were on shore.

"I shall stick to our party while they remain in France, & they are going up to Rouen to lionize the Cathedral, &c. I expect to be in Paris about Thursday.

"We found Lord Conyngham here in his Yacht also, but he is gone over to Cowes just as we came in and returns on Wednesday.

"The entrance to this place is really beautiful, and I expect to enjoy this part of my trip exceedingly. . . ."

From the Hon. James Stuart Wortley to Lady Wharncliffe

"PARIS, October 12, 1841.

" . . . I arrived here last Wednesday and find plenty of amusement, although I never saw the Town so empty. There are happily very few English staying here although there are always some going through.

"I have seen Lady Granville, and went to the Ambassade last night ; she seems to me to be rather glad to leave Paris, though at present of course they are in a most uncomfortable state and in the midst of all the torments of packing up. I was most agreeably surprised by the appearance of Lord Granville, who though thin and oldened looks cheerful & well. His speech is quite clear, and any affection of the face there is, is so slight that if I had not heard of it I dont think I should have perceived it. . . ."

From the Hon. James Stuart Wortley to Lady Wharncliffe

"PARIS,

"Tuesday, October 26, 1841.

"After having seen all that I care about seeing and exhausted the novelty of the Theatres and Cafés, I intend leaving this place tomorrow & hope to be in London on Friday in good time, where I trust I shall still find you. . . .

"Very few people have been here, & as there has

been no Ambassade there has been no place of reunion where those who have been here could meet; consequently I have been thrown for my evenings entirely upon the resource of the Theatres which, however good they may be, lose their attraction after a certain time, so that I shall not be sorry to be at home again. I hope I may be greeted on my arrival with the news of the birth of a Prince of Wales."

From Lord Wharncliffe to Lady Wharncliffe

"WORTLEY HALL,

"December 3, 1841.

"I inclose to you a letter I received yesterday from Peel, just as I was setting out for the meeting at Wakefield. Certainly nothing could have been done in a more flattering and gratifying manner than this has.

"I have been detained so long at the Poor Board today that I have no time for more.

"I shall be in London on Tuesday next the 7th, and a Council will be held at Windsor on the 10th, as Peel tells me in a letter I have received this morning. Let Beverley know this. . . ."

The first letter of 1842 records the death of Lady Erne, Lady Wharncliffe's mother. For years mother and daughter had been all in all to each other. Her son-in-law loved her as a son, her grandchildren treated her as a playfellow and an equal, calling her habitually "Gooma". Her marriage had been unhappy, though for what reason we do not know. She and her little daughter Caroline wandered about Europe, or lived in lodgings at Christchurch or at Bognor, while Lord Erne lived on his estates in Ireland. After Caroline's marriage Lady Erne was given, through the influence of her brother-in-law, Lord Liverpool, an apartment at Hampton Court, while her son-in-law fitted up for her the Lodge at Wharncliffe. For one so old and delicate, this last must have been extremely remote and much exposed to the elements. For the last years before her death she had remained at Hampton Court entirely.

Scattered all through the letters are evidences of her generosity to her relations and dependents, in spite of the very restricted income allowed her by her husband.

In early youth she was the favourite daughter of the erratic Earl-Bishop ; while it is plain from these letters that her sisters, Elizabeth, Duchess of Devonshire, and Lady Liverpool, turned to her whenever they were in any trouble.

From Lady Wharncliffe to the Hon. Mrs. J. C. Talbot

“ CURZON STREET,
“ *January 10th, 1842.*

“ I little thought my dearest Missy when I sent you word I should write to day, that I should have such melancholy news to tell you. But alas a sudden change took place yesterday afternoon which made Holberton think it right to send for us. The express followed us to the Haddingtons where we were dining, & caused considerable delay. However we got away from here by 12 o'clock, & Jam went with us, & found poor Gooma *sadly* alter'd, & so weak & breathless that she could hardly speak, but thank God she knew me. Holberton at once put an end to all hope of rally, but could not say how long it might last. But from that time she declined rapidly, & before four had quietly breathed her last ! . . . ”

From Lady Wharncliffe to the Hon. Mrs. J. C. Talbot

“ CURZON STREET,
“ *Saturday, Jan. 15, 1842.*

“ I did not get your letter dearest Missy till last night. . . .

“ I have often thought how glad you would *now* feel that I persuaded you to go with me that Saturday before you went away in spite of the inconvenience it was to you. It seem'd as if it was *presentiment* in me, & her *looks* that day seem'd to have justified it. *That* day was in fact the ‘ *beginning* of the *end* ’, for tho' she rallied so wonderfully, she never got back to where she was, or improved in the least for some time past. It will

please you to know that one of the few things that often recurr'd to her mind since your departure was the *occasion* of your absence, & she would as often as she enquired after you (constantly forgetting where you was), add the warmest expressions of admiration at your devoted friendship, highly approving it, tho' *she* suffer'd by it; & then always exclaiming, '*poor* dear Lady Lothian!'¹ of all calamities *that* is the one that I feel for most! I never could understand how it could be borne! &c.' at the same time *adding* that strong religious feelings & sense of duty might she believed be a support, which nobody could know but those who had been so *severely tried*! This topic used always to excite her feelings & make her so unhappy, that of course I turned the subject as soon as I could by naming some other member of our family. I have found amongst her few trinkets a cross with my hair in it, which John says she intended for *you*—but it is an old fashioned thing now. . . ."

From Lord Wharncliffe to Lady Wharncliffe

"WORTLEY HALL,
"January 18, 1842, 3 o'clock.

"We are just returned from the funeral, and poor Gooma now rests where I am sure she would have chosen, but from her utter want of selfishness, which made her averse to giving any body any trouble upon her account.

"How soon will that vault be opened to receive me? A few, a very few years, at all events will see that day. May I be prepared for it.

"God bless you. James & I, and I believe Edward, will be in London between 6 and 7 tomorrow. John Creighton and John Talbot go up tonight."

¹ Lady Cecil Chetwynd Talbot, daughter of Charles, 2nd Earl Talbot, married John William Robert, 7th Marquis of Lothian. Their son, William Schomberg Robert, 8th Marquis (1832-70), married his first cousin, Lady Constance Talbot, daughter of 18th Earl of Shrewsbury.



MARY STUART WORTLEY, WIFE OF RT. HON. WILLIAM DUNDAS
By Hoppner. The property of Sir Berkeley Sheffield, Bart.

From Lady Wharncliffe to the Hon. Mrs. J. C. Talbot

"CURZON STREET,
"January 31st, 1842.

"Our party at Windsor was very agreeable, & I should have enjoyed it very much if I had been in the humour for any thing of the *sort*. As it was however I felt very flat, but at the same time often amused & interested in watching the King of Prussia & our Queen, whose manner with him was the prettiest thing possible. We dined in the Waterloo Hall, but I could not also help ruminating on the singularity of finding myself dining *there, with them*; he, the son of the man whose portrait hung opposite to him, & surrounded by all the great contemporaries of *that* day, and She also, the Sovereign of a new generation! It made me feel *very old*!

"The King of Prussia¹ is like a plain English gentleman, with kind & simple manners very like *Bülow*, & still more I am sorry to say like *O'Connell*, but with the most amiable countenance instead of a bad one, & not so large. The Queen presented me & the other Ladies to him after dinner, which was rather *aweful*. In the evening we sat in the great Ballroom, a Band playing at the end. The effect of that gorgeous room, brilliantly lighted, & full of people in groups, sitting or standing, was very striking.

"We are ask'd to night to meet the King at the Duke of Sutherlands, & to morrow at the Duke of Wellingtons, so there will be no peace till the dear man goes away! . . . "

From Lady Wharncliffe to the Hon. Mrs. J. C. Talbot

"CURZON STREET, February 4th.

" . . . I was to have taken Per² with me to the House of Lords yesterday, but found the night before that she

¹ Frederick William III. (1770-1840), father of William, first Emperor of Germany.

² Lady Louisa Percy.

had forgot all about it & would not go ! How like them ! I accordingly went with the Lord President & got on as well as could be wish'd. I was very glad I went, for it was altogether a most interesting meeting of Parliament—the first for *us* with Queen in person, & the King of Prussia present. The crowds in the streets on foot & in carriages was beyond all precedent, but I am told that there was not much cheering except round the Queen's & Duke of Wellington's carriages. The King of Prussia, who went down before the Queen, was not recognised, which was stupid.

“The Queen looked very well & made her speech as well as usual. The *first* paragraph on the birth of her son was hardly audible, so that I believe she was really affected by it. Afterwards her voice rose gradually, & the rest was heard perfectly. The *Prince of Wales's* chair on her right, only one step lower than her own, look'd very *odd*, but *pretty*. The King was on her right, but beyond the steps, & Albert opposite on her left. I hear she never was so much cheer'd on her progress, & that she look'd most smiling & gracious, & bowed continually. The Governor says she was in great spirits in the House whilst robing. Nothing could go off better than the debates in both Houses, & the Duke of Buckingham's¹ little speech has destroyed the *sensation* produced by his resignation.

“This has been a most fatiguing week, & I am really quite done ! I shall now retire into my shell, I hope for a long time, as the Queen is going to Brighton directly. I am *very* glad the Royal visit is at an end, though really sorry to think I shall probably never see the King of Prussia again. He has won every body's heart by his good humour'd & simple manners, & all that one hears of his character makes one respect him also. . . .”

¹ 2nd Duke of Buckingham. Joined Peel's Ministry as Lord Privy Seal. Retired in 1842 on account of his disagreeing with the Government measures regarding the Corn Laws.

From the Hon. James Stuart Wortley to Lady Wharncliffe

“YORK, February 23, 1842.

“I write a line in the intervals of business to congratulate you on the apparent subsiding of the riots which must, I fear, have caused you considerable anxiety. The *Lord Lieutenant*¹ must have had a most anxious time of it also, but he will be recompensed by the universal opinion which I hear expressed of his vigour and judicious conduct in the matter. . . .”

From the Hon. James Stuart Wortley to Lady Wharncliffe

“MOUNTSTUART,

“November 9, 1842.

“I find everything very snug and quiet here, without any threat or whisper of an opposition, and therefore as soon as I have spent a few days in my canvass I shall return to London and come down again at the end of the month for the Election. Lord Bute is all kindness as usual, but the place is comfortless & looks as if hardly inhabited for want of a Lady Bute. I heartily wish he may marry again. Tomorrow is a day of thanksgiving here, so I cannot begin my canvass before Friday.”

From the Hon. James Stuart Wortley to Lady Wharncliffe

“LONDON, November 18, 1842.

“One line only, My Dearest Mams, to say that I am safely returned from my Scotch labours by sea and land. I left Glasgow yesterday morning at 8 o'clock and was landed in London at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 1 o'clock to day!!

“Everything goes on most smoothly in Buteshire, but I shall be obliged to return on Monday week to be present at the Election. I shall send down by Charles tomorrow morning a large box of Mountstuart pears of which the gardener there is very proud, and which his attachment to the family made him insist on my bringing away. They have arrived thus far in excellent order, &

¹ His father, Lord Wharncliffe.

I hope they will still be worth eating, for I know his Lordship is more worthy of them than I am, & the gardener will be more flattered by their being eaten by the Lord President."

The disastrous war in Afghanistan, begun during the Melbourne Government in 1838, had ended brilliantly at last in the hoisting of the British flag on the citadel of Kabul on September 16, 1842. Lord Ellenborough had succeeded Lord Auckland as Governor-General in 1841. The war with China, which had arisen out of disputes over the importation of opium, thanks to the vigorous conduct of Sir Hugh Gough and Admiral Parker, had ended in a treaty by which the Chinese ceded Hong Kong to us in perpetuity, and opened five other ports to the trade of the world. China also paid to us an indemnity of over five millions and a half.

From the Hon. James Stuart Wortley to Lady Wharncliffe

"LONDON, November 22.

" . . . The news from China and India is glorious, and will form a splendid item in the composition of the Queen's speech. Beyond the importance of the news itself, the time at which it has arrived is not less fortunate.

" I do not leave Town till Sunday night or Monday morning, and my Election is to be on the 1st of December."

From the Hon. James Stuart Wortley to Lady Wharncliffe

"LONDON, November 28, 1842.

" Thank God ! poor Emmeline has been sufficiently restored to go to Belvoir, and they got off this morning. You will therefore receive your future reports from thence. I wish I could foresee that the restoration of her health would be the return of real happiness to poor Charles, but the fact is that her nature and temperament are not made for the common destinies of this life, and her feelings are so vehement and exaggerated that they not only undermine her own health, but are such as to cause constant anxiety and unhappiness to those she loves most, and whose fate is necessarily linked with hers. . . ."

After reading the above letter it seems only fair to point out that Charles was, during the last years of his life, an invalid. Obviously Lady Emmeline was not the stuff of which patient nurses are made. Her whole nature craved for romance, excitement and adventure. She was undoubtedly a remarkable woman. Besides producing an enormous amount of literary work, she was an enthusiastic traveller. In 1838 she travelled with her husband in Central and Eastern Europe, sometimes under conditions of great discomfort and danger—sometimes royally entertained by the great of the land. To her love of adventure she eventually sacrificed her life.

From the Hon. James Stuart Wortley to Lady Wharncliffe

“LONDON, November 24, 1842.

“ . . . Nothing is spoken of but our Indian & Chinese achievements and their happy consequences ; the accounts from all quarters speak of the certainty of rapid improvement in commerce & in every branch.

“ I have letters from Scotland to day and find my Election is fixed for the 1st of December. . . .”

From the Hon. James Stuart Wortley to Lady Wharncliffe

“CARLISLE, December 3, 1842.

“ As I am compelled to stay here for the night for want of a coach, I take the opportunity of writing to announce my actual Election for the shire of Bute. There was not only no opposition, but not the slightest symptom of dissent, although at the last Election poor Sir William Rae had a very troublesome contest. I went to Dumfries House last night to see Lord Bute and announce to him the satisfactory result, and have come in here this evening.

“ What will you say of the climate of *my* county [the Island of Bute] when I tell you that yesterday morning I bathed in the open sea, and dressed & undressed on the beach with perfect comfort, & this on the 2d of December !! It puts me in mind of Mola de Gaeta, where I remember that we boys dressed ourselves on the open leads in February. . . .”

CHAPTER XXXIV

(1843-1844)

Parliament opened by commission—Large reduction in Import Duties—Lord Ellenborough's head turned—Lady Wilhelmina Stanhope's marriage—*Moonshine*: a Comedy—The railway through Wharncliffe—The Law officers in Ireland "playing the devil"—Lord Wharncliffe fights for justice to O'Connell in the Lords—The journey to Mount Stuart—Death of Charles Stuart Wortley—Lady Emmeline and her daughter Victoria: their too adventurous travels—Trouble between England and France about Tahiti—James meets Miss Lawley after long interval—Lord Pembroke and Mlle Schäffer.

IN 1843 Parliament was opened by commission. The speech from the throne referred to the successful conclusion of the war in China, also to the success of our military operations in Afghanistan. It spoke hopefully of the effects of the large reduction in import duties, and on trade in general.

From Lord Wharncliffe to Lady Wharncliffe

" COUNCIL OFFICE,
" *Friday, January 6th, 1843.*

" I arrived safe and sound at $\frac{1}{2}$ p. seven and went straight to dinner at the Carlton. . . . I wanted to see such of my colleagues as are in town. They were all dining at the Admiralty. Accordingly after dinner I went there, and found Peel, Stanley, Graham and Fitzgerald, all in great glee and force. We talked matters over a little, and it was agreed that next Thursday, the 12th, should be the day upon which we should consider that the members of the Cabinet would have to assemble

for the necessary consultations before the meeting of Parliament. . . . Peel said, nothing could be more satisfactory than the conduct of the Queen to him, and that Albert had told him that she was very much annoyed at Locock &c. having positively refused to allow her to open parliament in person in consequence of her present state,¹ for she said, if she reigned for 50 years she never could expect to have so gratifying a speech to make, or one which would be such a contrast to what she had to say last year. This must not go beyond ourselves."

From the Hon. James Stuart Wortley to Lady Wharncliffe

" LONDON, January 11, 1843.

" The faithful Rail Road brought me safe to London before 3 o'clock yesterday evening in spite of some most tremendous storms of wind, rain and snow. Of the latter however we took leave before we got to Derby, for though snow fell none would lie south of that latitude. . . .

" I think the Governor looking lively and well and like himself again though weak upon his legs.

" I have no news that will interest you, but I thought the Chancellor² very much oldened and altered when I saw him at his Levee to day. . . ."

Lord Ellenborough, having first ordered his generals to retire, and then thrown upon them the responsibility of advancing upon Kabul, was so elated at the successes for which he was so little responsible, that he published various unwise and bombastic proclamations. In these he exhorted the Princes of India to rejoice that the insult of 800 years had been avenged by the restoration of the gates of Somnath. As the gates turned out to be of modern origin, this boast brought ridicule upon Lord Ellenborough, while he was much censured for the destruction of the bazaar and two mosques of Kabul.

¹ Princess Alice was born on April 25, 1843.

² Lord Lyndhurst. See p. 12, Vol. II.

From Lord Wharncliffe to Lady Wharncliffe

“CURZON STREET,
“January 13, 1843.

“ . . . Today is our first Cabinet dinner, at Aberdeen’s, and I hope it will be upon an earlier day next week.

“All that can be said of Ellenborough is that his head is completely turned. The town talks of nothing else, and there is, I am sorry to say, more matter of annoyance in his conduct than appears in the Newspapers. It is too provoking that instead of our being able to take a triumphant tone upon all that has taken place in India, his folly has made it ridiculous, and has put us upon our defence. This is a matter of great uneasiness to us all, I can assure you, but don’t give Coppy the opportunity of rejoicing at it, for the sake of her friend Auckland. . . .”

From Lord Wharncliffe to Lady Wharncliffe

“COUNCIL OFFICE, Saturday.

“The Queen was in great force and good humour yesterday. I chose to try and read my paper of what was to be done at the Council, without putting my spectacles on, and merely using my reading glass. The consequence was that I had some difficulty in turning over the leaves and continuing my reading at the same time, and she laughed heartily at my embarrassment.

“I am very glad to find that your nephew’s visit went off so well. I don’t think that the mere fact of one of the Officers at the Barracks being Peel’s nephew imposes upon us the necessity of inviting him to Wortley. At all events nothing need be done till I return, and in the mean time I will make some enquiry about him. . . .”

From the Hon. James Stuart Wortley to Lady Wharncliffe

“YORK, March 10, 1843.

“ . . . Dundas tells me that he has an account in his letters from London very complimentary to my

speech, which testimony, coming from so unsuspecting a quarter & not intended to be conveyed to me, is very gratifying. You will see by the debate that Johnny Russell spoke very kindly, and Peel cheered me very much more than he used to do while I was speaking. . . .”

From the Hon. James Stuart Wortley to Lady Wharncliffe

“ LIVERPOOL, N.P. COURT,
“ March 30, 1843.

“ . . . I am very busy here, and shall not get to Town till almost the end of the week after next.

“ I am delighted to hear that you have been entertaining a little of late, and taking pity upon the houseless Tory supporters of the Government.

“ Have you heard the new conundrum ? Why are the old Tories like shrivelled walnuts ? Because ‘ They are troublesome to *Peel* ’. I suppose I am sending coals to Newcastle in presuming to send a joke from country to Town ; but if you have not heard it it is a good one.”

From the Hon. James Stuart Wortley to Lady Wharncliffe

“ MILNTHORPE,
“ August 16, 1843.

“ I have come over here for a day to fish in the water at Levens, before beginning upon the Assize at Liverpool. The Greville Howards are not there, but they are always kind enough to leave orders for me to be allowed to fish or do as I please.

“ There was very little business at Lancaster, but I had my share of it.

“ I had heard of the marriages you mention before, but not so authoritatively. I am especially glad to hear of Lady Wilhelmina’s ¹ marriage considering the state of poor Lady Stanhope’s health, and the prospect of the painful and isolated position in which her mother’s death

¹ Catherine Lucy Wilhelmina, daughter of 4th Earl Stanhope. Married (1st), 1843, Lord Dalmeny, who died in 1851 ; and (2nd), 1854, the 4th Duke of Cleveland. Lady Wilhelmina was one of Queen Victoria’s bridesmaids.

would have left her. Dalmeny¹ is a good sort of man, but rather priggish and fanciful about his health, and hardly good enough for so clever a person. . . .”

From the Hon. James Stuart Wortley to Lady Wharncliffe

“NORTHERN CIRCUIT, CARLISLE,
“August 9, 1843.

“ . . . I was much relieved by the account you both give of ‘Moonshine’,² as I was afraid from the public accounts of the first night that it was an entire failure. If she can do as well as this under the circumstances of haste and inexperience which have accompanied her present production, I have hopes that she may do better things hereafter, though I fear there is little hope of satisfying her ambition, which is boundless.

“Here again I am almost without business. There is very little for anybody, and that little is much divided; added to which this is a place to which I have not come regularly, and where I have never had much to do.

“I am indeed delighted to hear of the marriage of Algy Greville’s daughter,³ as it must be a great happiness to him and all the family. There seems to be the usual crop of matches making up for the close of the season. . . .”

From the Hon. James Stuart Wortley to Lady Wharncliffe

“LIVERPOOL,
“Sunday, August 27, 1843.

“Many thanks, My Dearest Mama, for your letter, by which I am delighted to find that you are at last going to breathe a better air than that of London. I suppose the *Commodore* is going to Cowes to look after his fleet, of which I see a considerable detachment is now exhibiting at the Isle of Wight. . . .”

¹ The father of the present Earl of Rosebery.

² A comedy by Lady Emmeline Stuart Wortley.

³ Frances Harriett Greville. Married, 1843, the 6th Duke of Richmond.

Lord Wharncliffe (the Commodore) owned a small sailing vessel—the *Romulus*.

From the Hon. James Stuart Wortley to Lady Wharncliffe

“LONDON, Sunday, September 3.

“ . . . I made a poor Liverpool in consequence partly of the paucity of business, but more from increased and powerful, and in some instances unfair competition, However I was successful in some cases entrusted to me. and against hope, so that I got some credit, and dont despair of keeping up in the race. Poor Dundas was left further behind than me at Liverpool, and came up before it is over to be of use to poor Charles Howard, who is one of his most intimate friends.

“How shocking the deaths of two such young & pretty creatures as Mrs. Howard¹ & Mrs. W. Cowper²!”

From Lord Wharncliffe to Lady Wharncliffe

“WORTLEY HALL, Friday.

“ . . . Today I have been out since morning, and in spite of some Moor grime have managed to see the whole line of Railway, and to view it from all parts of Wharncliffe. I don't exaggerate when I say that no stranger to the place could, either from the Lodge or any where near it, suppose that there was any such thing as a railway thro' the wood, and I can only guess it by the slightest indication possible among the tops of the trees of a deeper shadow upon them. The only spot in the ride along the Cliff whence it is to be seen distinctly is from that rocky part above Windle's chemical works, and there only very partially; and so far from being an eyesore, I declare to you that I think it has the effect upon you of increasing the idea of the Vastness of the

¹ Mary, daughter of the Right Hon. Sir James Parke, Baron Wensleydale. Married, 1842, Charles Wentworth George Howard, brother of 7th Earl of Carlisle. She died August 1843.

² Harriet Alicia, daughter of Daniel Gurney, of North Runton, Norfolk. Married, June 1843, William Francis Cowper Temple, second son of 5th Earl Cowper. She died August 1843.

wood. When you are on the line itself it is really quite beautiful. I confess this is altogether a most agreeable surprise to me, for I had great fears upon the subject. . . .”

From the Hon. James Stuart Wortley to Lady Wharncliffe

“ MOUNTSTUART,
“ October 22, 1843.

“ My holidays are now nearly over and I must at all events go back at once to London, but I look forward to passing a short time at Wortley at Xmas. I have had every sort of amusement since I came here and have enjoyed myself excessively. If I could have had a visit from you and the Governor I should have accomplished all that I wished. However I have never been alone for I have managed to keep our cousin Henry Stuart¹ and his wife and two little children almost all the time, so that I have had a nice little *family circle*. She was a Miss Hammersley, & is a most amiable, unaffected and cheerful as well as sensible person.

“ My entertainment to the Electors went off very well, & on Tuesday I am to close my festivities with a little dance for the Ladies of the Island. So that I flatter myself I shall go away having established the popularity of Lord Bute’s member for the County.

“ We have lately had capital sport with the hounds, which have also afforded amusement to some of my constituents. My conscience smites me however for not having gone up to London to vote for Baring, and I dread the news of the result of the election as I cannot help fearing the worst from the doubtful tone which the addresses of his Committee adopt.

“ I hope the Governor is in good spirits on public affairs. The Irish Policy thus far seems to have been as successful as it has been temperate & wise, if the Jury will only finish the work so judiciously begun. . . .

“ I shall stop at Drumlanrig for a night or two on my way if I can manage it.”

¹ Henry Stuart (1808–80), grandson of John, 1st Marquess of Bute.

From Lord Wharncliffe to Lady Wharncliffe

“ COUNCIL OFFICE,
“ *Monday, 5 o'clock, Nov. 1843.*

“ . . . Sir James Graham and I went to church yesterday at that pretty new church¹ on the Fulham Road belonging to the National Society's training school. It is a beautiful church inside, and all the east end is very imposing with Steps up to the Altar, raising it quite above the body of the Church and cloisters behind it, from one end of which the sermon was preached. The service was all chaunted, the boys, pupils of Hullah, all singing without any instrument or organ and beautifully. I don't doubt that it is a most correct specimen of the way in which service was performed in the churches immediately after the reformation in this country, and it is well worth going to hear.

“ I am sorry to say that our Law Officers in Ireland are playing the devil with us. They will not obey any directions they get from here, and are making fools of themselves more and more every day. . . .

“ I don't agree with you about the article in the Times. It was evidently written to get the Queen and the Government into a difficulty. . . .”

In October 1843 the Government had arrested O'Connell and his principal associates on a charge of conspiracy. The minor officials had taken upon themselves to pack the jury, while the judge, Pennefather, showed himself a partisan. Sentence was deferred until the following term. On May 30, 1844, he was sentenced to twelve months imprisonment and a fine of £2000. But so flagrant had been the irregularities at his trial, that on September 4 the Lords reversed the verdict on appeal. Four of the five judges were equally divided, but Denman's vote carried the day.

Greville, commenting on these events, says, “ The judgment of O'Connell's case came on the world like a clap of thunder. . . . Wharncliffe had the greatest difficulty in

¹ Probably the Chapel of St. Mark's College.

preventing the Tory peers from voting. . . . If they had voted it would have been most injurious to the House of Lords. . . ." On September 14 he continues: "The high Tories and their press are exceedingly indignant with Wharncliffe for having interposed to prevent the lay Lords voting and overruling the Law Lords".

From Lord Wharncliffe to Lady Wharncliffe

"CURZON STREET,

"November 17, 1843.

" . . . I cant say that things do look better in Ireland so far as the event of the Trial is concerned. It is evident that the game played by O'Connell and his council is delay, in which he will probably be successful in spite of us. It depends upon the decision of the Court upon the point which was last raised by his Counsel, whether the present indictment will not be quashed, and we shall not have to present another, which can't be till the middle of January.

"We have Cabinets every day, and I cannot hope to get away before the end of next week, and very probably not till a day or two before we go to Whitley."

From Lord Wharncliffe to Lady Wharncliffe

"COUNCIL OFFICE, November 18.

"In answer to your question about the trial in Ireland, I can only say that I think the Law Officers are going on better. But on the other hand O'Connell & Co. are evidently determined to leave no stone unturned to create delay, and they will probably succeed. I dont think however that delay arising so evidently from their course will be any disadvantage to us. . . ."

James being now member for the County of Bute spends much of his time at Mount Stuart. He entreats his mother to come and stay with him under his cousin Lord Bute's hospitable roof, but from the particulars he gives her of the journey one does not wonder at her failure to respond.

From the Hon. James Stuart Wortley to Lady Wharncliffe

“MOUNTSTUART, December 7, 1843.

“ . . . Why should you not come here and meet the Talbots next week? It would do both you and the Governor good and be a great delight to me, and to some of my constituents to see you here. . . . The Journey is no great thing; by Railroad to Darlington, then across to Newcastle, and by Railroad to Carlisle; from whence you could post to Glasgow, or if you pleased only to Ayr, where you would get a Railroad that would take you straight to Greenock, and from whence it is only 2 hours of steam down the river and in *smooth water* to this place.

“Lord Bute is all kindness as usual, but he leaves me tomorrow for Dumfries House, where he stays a week. If you really thought of coming, Dumfries House would make a nice distance from Carlisle, and I am sure he would [be] exceedingly pleased by any of the family proposing to take him in their way. Pray come, some of you, for you have no notion how pretty the grounds and country are here in summer. . . .”

On May 22, 1844, Lord Wharncliffe's second son, Charles, the husband of Lady Emmeline, died at Curzon Street. From allusions in the letters it is evident that for the last years of his life he had been constantly ill. His death was supposed to have been due to the after-effects of a hunting accident before his marriage. From his portrait he appears to have been extremely good-looking. He was a favourite in Society, a friend of Count d'Orsay, a fine horseman and judge of horses.

While in the 10th Dragoons—now the 10th Hussars—he took part in the expedition to Antwerp, and was there during the siege. He wrote a *Journal of an Excursion to Antwerp*, published by John Murray in 1833.

From the Hon. James Stuart Wortley to Lady Wharncliffe

“NEWCASTLE, August 2, 1844.

“ . . . I dont wonder at your repugnance to passing the summer and autumn at Wortley where you would

be constantly reminded of the loss of poor dear Charles, and I am sure that the best thing for you (however unequal and unwilling you may now feel to exert yourself) is to do something out of the usual routine. I am ready to do anything that will facilitate your plans during September and October, and will either go abroad with you, or fetch you home at the end of October. Or if you think you would like I would receive you at Mountstuart. Lord Bute has put his house at my disposal again. . . .

“I have been doing pretty well both at Durham and here, but the rogues of Reporters have their favourites, and they never put my name in their papers if they can help it. . . .”

After Charles's death Emmeline began her most adventurous travel, taking with her her young daughter, Victoria, a delicate girl with a constitution weakened by virulent scarlet fever.

After travelling through Italy and France during the revolutions of 1848, they crossed the Atlantic, and spent several months in the United States. Then, traversing the dangerous highways of Mexico, they twice crossed the isthmus of Panama at the height of the gold rush.

Finally, in 1855, Lady Emmeline's travels came to a tragic close in Syria. She died of fever and dysentery in the desert, not far from Beyrout, leaving her young daughter, Victoria—herself suffering from fever—alone with the caravan and only Arab servants. From this terrible situation she was rescued by the British Consul at Beyrout and his wife, Mr. and Mrs. Moore, taken into their house and nursed back to health.

The beautiful girl of eighteen, fresh from the horrors of that desert journey, became a welcome guest in the houses of her many relations and of her godmother, the Duchess of Kent. After the Duchess's death in 1861 she became Maid of Honour to Queen Victoria, whose godchild also she was, and eventually married Sir William Welby, of Denton Manor, Grantham.

Meanwhile, intellectually she was developing very rapidly.

With extraordinary industry she followed the scientific thought of her day, gradually inventing or discovering a new Science of Meaning, to which—in an article in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* and elsewhere—she gave the name of Significs, or the influence of language on thought.

Remarkable, however, as Victoria Welby certainly was, she belonged to the younger generation, and we must leave it to others to describe her activities,¹ and return to the year 1844.

The year 1844 found England and France once more within sight of war. In Tahiti the French Admiral, Dupetit-Thouars, had declared a protectorate over the island, deposing its Queen Pomare and expelling the British Consul, Pritchard. The news caused great excitement both in England and France. Guizot was finally induced by the English Government to disavow the action of his Admiral, and to make reparation to Pritchard.

From the Hon. James Stuart Wortley to Lady Wharncliffe

“NORTHERN CIRCUIT,
“August 11, 1844.

“I am sorry to hear that you are still further detained in London by the affairs of Pomare, but trust that at least you will keep us out of a war with France. I shall probably not be at liberty before the 1st of September, when I think I shall run up to London for a day or two, and shall be guided in my future plans by the state of yours at that time. It would be very nice to receive you for a fortnight or three weeks at Mountstuart in September, and the expense would be no great things, especially if you could send Surville [French cook] & a kitchenmaid to furnish forth the materials, which are cheap enough in themselves. My father might have yachting there to his heart's content.

“I have had business at all the places in the North

¹ For these particulars I am indebted to Mrs. Henry Cust whose book *Wanderers* (episodes from the travels of Lady Emmeline Stuart Wortley and her daughter Victoria) will shortly be published by Messrs. Jonathan Cape.

and quite as good a share as usual, but from some cause or other my name *rarely* appears, in comparison with that of others, in the London newspapers. In fact I believe that, besides a necessarily severe competition, I have every sort of underhand influence to struggle against.

"It is very kind of Uncle Bristol to receive poor Emmeline under present circumstances, and will no doubt be a great comfort to her to be in a new place, & with her kind and affectionate sister.¹ Pray write occasionally as your plans vary or mature."

From the Hon. James Stuart Wortley to Lady Wharncliffe

"YORK, October 11, 1844.

". . . We had the most beautiful Ball on Wednesday that I ever saw out of London. I staid over yesterday at Bishopthorpe to celebrate the poor dear old Archbishop's 87th birthday. We had a large party in the house including Morpeth and Lady Mary Howard, the former of whom distinguished himself in a charade as *Julius Caesar*, the honour of giving him the fatal blow, as Brutus, falling upon me. We also sung a sort of occasional ode written by Morpeth to celebrate the day.

"I went over yesterday with some of the party to Eserick to enquire after poor Lady Wenlock, who has been ill, and there met Miss Lawley for the first time since my unfortunate expedition to Paris. It was embarrassing to both of us and painful to me. However I am happy in having broken the ice, a feeling which rendered the meeting, though painful, yet not one of pain unmixed. You will judge from the way I speak of it that *my* feelings are not much altered. . . ."

James Stuart Wortley's courtship of Jane Lawley, the only daughter of Lord and Lady Wenlock, of Eserick, near

¹ Katherine Isabella, daughter of 5th Duke of Rutland, and sister of Lady Emmeline. Married, 1830, Earl Jermyn, afterwards 2nd Marquess of Bristol. See p. 54, Vol. II.

York, had been going on for a long time. In 1842 he had followed the Wenlocks to Paris and proposed to the young lady. From former letters it is evident that she was (in the language of those days) suffering from pique, and had therefore refused him. The letter above quoted is the first indication that the affair was taking a happier turn.

From the Hon. James Stuart Wortley to Lady Wharncliffe

“LONDON, November 9, 1844.

“ . . . I was not aware that you had seen the room upstairs, nor did I think it worth while to mention it to you ; but I ordered it to be dismantled immediately and made as unlike itself as possible, and in accordance with a plan which poor Charles himself had suggested, and I now inhabit it. It’s melancholy associations are rather agreeable to me than otherwise, now that it’s actual appearance is so changed as not constantly to renew the painful details of the past. I have also heard from Emmeline very lately on matters of business, and, I am happy to say, in a very tranquil and comfortable tone. . . .

“ Have you heard the scandal about Lord Pembroke ¹ & his chère amie Mlle. Schäffer (danseuse de l’Opéra). He made a settlement on her contingent on his *death*. He has for some time been out of health and getting worse in spite of his physicians ; at last his coffee was analysed and a slow poison detected. He instantly ‘ rushed ’ [away], and left others to turn the lady off bag & baggage. . . .

“ I have a new pet to show you when you come to London : a *tame Roe deer*.”

¹ Robert Henry, 12th Earl of Pembroke (1791–1862). Married, 1814, Princess Octavia Spinelli. Succeeded to the earldom, 1827.

CHAPTER XXXV

(1845-1881)

James at York—All the world Railroad mad—Lady Ravensworth and Lord Londonderry—James thanks his mother and family—James becomes Attorney-General for County Palatine of Durham—Adolphus Liddell and Miss Fox—A third-class open carriage to Scarborough, which is improved “beyond belief”—James has a long and painful explanation with Miss Lawley—Agreeable days at Drumlanrig: the courtship progresses slowly—Lord Wharncliffe sees Jane Lawley and kisses her hand—Peel convinced of need of Repeal of Corn Laws: unable to carry Cabinet with him, resigns—Lord Wharncliffe in bed with gout—Lord John Russell in difficulties—James goes to Torquay—Death of Lord Wharncliffe: letter from the Queen—Lady Wharncliffe’s last years—James Stuart Wortley appointed Judge Advocate-General—His marriage—Is made Recorder of London, 1850; Solicitor-General, 1856—Deaths of John Chetwynd Talbot, and of John, Lord Wharncliffe—Death of Lady Wharncliffe—Severe accident to James Stuart Wortley: end of his career—Death at Belton House, 1881.

JAMES STUART WORTLEY’S protracted courtship of Jane Lawley was at last nearing its happy conclusion. We have included a certain number of letters bearing on it as showing how a love affair was conducted in the middle of the last century. The year ends with the death of Lord Wharncliffe.

From the Hon. James Stuart Wortley to Lady Wharncliffe

“YORK, March 9, 1845.

“In the usual course here I am at York again for the 27th time. There has been very little doing on the Circuit hitherto and we have not the prospect of anything much better here. All the world is Railroad mad at present & they have no time to attend to their ordinary business and disputes; the lawyers therefore suffer for the present, but with the extension of fresh

projexts and the accumulation of increased wealth, spring up also new interests and new complications of rights and liabilities which will probably eventually bring profit to our craft. I have had some, but not a great share both at Newcastle & Durham.

“ I trust my Lords Gout is passed. . . . ”

From the Hon. James Stuart Wortley to Lady Wharncliffe

“ YORK, July 13, 1845. ”

“ I have arrived at my old destination in safety, and in good health, and in far better spirits than I could have thought possible some weeks ago. I am thankful, I hope, to God for this restoration of health, but next to him I feel that I owe it to the love and comfort I found among my family. In suffering and among disappointments I found inexpressible consolation in the affection shewn me ; and, though I often feared that I was distressing you by complaints which I could not control, I cannot regret an illness which has given me such fresh proofs of the affection and attachment of those I love. A thousand thanks, My Dearest Mams, to you for your sacrifice of your own comforts and devotion to me in my illness.”

From the Hon. James Stuart Wortley to Lady Wharncliffe

“ WESTOE, Sunday, July 27. ”

“ . . . Lord Granville Somerset has been very kind about the Attorney Generalship of the County Palatine, and I hear from him that the Queen has given her approbation of my appointment. I shall probably come up to London in the first week in August to be sworn in, when I hope I shall still find you there. I must expect my appointment to annoy some of my Whig seniors and make some bad blood among them for a time ; but I felt I should not be justified in refusing the appointment under the circumstances, & that if I had declined it out of delicacy to my confrères, others would have attributed my refusal to pusillanimity. . . . ”

"I can give you in confidence (for I don't know whether it is yet to be declared) a marriage in return for the one you tell me of. Our Adolphus Liddell is going to marry Miss Fox (George Fox's daughter). She is good looking & said to be a very nice girl. Her father is delighted with it, & she has £20000 at present, & will succeed to £20000 more on the death of her sister who is confined & whose life is most precarious. Though I know there is a prejudice amongst some of you against *him*, I assure you he is an excellent fellow. He made me his confidant before he proposed, and (though from my own circumstances this confidence raised painful comparisons) I had the pleasure of securing a friend's happiness by urging him to prompt & energetic measures. We can sometimes judge better for others than for ourselves. He has £15000 of his own & therefore they will do very well, even if the Father should not be able to leave her something more at his death, which cannot be long delayed. . . ."

From the Hon. James Stuart Wortley to Lady Wharncliffe

"LANCASTER, August 11, 1845.

"... What will you say to the safety of modern travelling? Mr. Justice Cresswell has had a narrow escape. He was upset & although he escaped without injury his servant was very much hurt & is still in danger; & this *not* on the Railroad but in his own chaise and four. . . ."

From the Hon. James Stuart Wortley to Lady Wharncliffe

"SCARBOROUGH, CROWN HOTEL,

"September 18, 1845.

"I arrived quite safe yesterday evening about 8 o'clock, although (I may as well tell you now it is over) I got into one of the third class open carriages for the sake of looking about me. The line is a very agreeable one without tunnels, cuttings or embankments, and in the neighbourhood of Castle Howard & Kirkham Abbey

is exceedingly pretty. This place is improved beyond belief; the whole of the south Cliff is now clothed with a new town of excellent Lodgings, houses, and a broad & cheerful esplanade of which this Hotel is the centre. The Hotel itself is quite new, very roomy, well furnished, & in every way excellent.

"The weather is wet & stormy to day but mild, & I have had a delicious dip. I find the Copleys & one or two other friends here, so that I have no lack of society.

"I am going on Saturday to Bishopthorpe for two nights, and if I hear propitious accounts of that *neighbourhood* I shall try my fate once more, for I am so utterly restored in health & confidence in *all ways*, that I believe I ought to have no scruple. . . . I was shy about speaking of this very delicate matter even to you while I was at Wortley.

"Whether I return here on Monday or return to Wortley, or what I do, will of course depend on circumstances. . . ."

From the Hon. James Stuart Wortley to Lady Wharncliffe

" BISHOPTHORPE,
" *Tuesday, September 23.*

" . . . Thank God! my confidence in myself has been restored with the return of health, and I have again placed myself at Miss Lawley's disposal, with I hope a better chance of success. . . . Nothing can be kinder than Lord Wenlock who is evidently anxious for my success, and he and Lady Wenlock (with their daughter's knowledge) have given me permission to come over to see her as often as I wish, which of course is every day. . . . Though you dont know much of her, I am sure you will wish for my success, and if I attain it, it will be the proudest moment of my life to introduce her again to you, and make you better acquainted with one of the most lovely minds and noblest characters of God's creatures. . . ."

From the Hon. James Stuart Wortley to Lady Wharncliffe

“YORK,

“Afternoon, September 23, 1845.

“MY DEAREST MAMS,

“Keep my secret a little longer. I come home tomorrow & will explain why—— My fate is still uncertain.

“Yours ever most affectionately

“JS. S. W.”

From the Hon. James Stuart Wortley to Lady Wharncliffe

“ESCrick PARK,

“Thursday, October 2, 1845.

“I began a letter to you before breakfast and if I had finished it then I should have written under far less happy impressions than I do. I found nobody here but the eldest brother, and of course I had a long and a sufficiently painful explanation with her, from which I learned more & more how much we had been at cross purposes, and how entirely they had mistaken my real feelings. . . . I cannot help hoping that I have made some way to day towards restoring the feeling which she dont deny she once had for me. We have had more mutual explanations in a still more confidential & more kindly tone, & have been the whole morning to this time (2 o'clock) together either talking or singing together, and nobody else being ever present but the mother. . . .”

From the Hon. James Stuart Wortley to Lady Wharncliffe

“YORK, October 4, 1845.

“Dont be alarmed at my writing from hence, or at my being turned out on this most inhospitable day, for I have the most sanguine hopes that all will be well at last, though I am not at liberty to say anything positive at present. All explanations are over & everything

cleared up, & all prejudices and misunderstandings removed, but she entreats for time, & I have of course no choice but to give it however anxious the suspense for me. . . . I am to keep away for a time & while their house is full for the York gaieties, but am permitted to return on the 24th, when they will again be alone. . . .

"I have much to tell you when we meet, and must insist upon your not getting at all upon your '*high horse*'. I am going to Bishopthorpe to ask shelter for the night, & in order that I may be able to say when I come home that I come from *thence* to those who don't know the secret of my expedition. If I can get leave to set out from the Archbishop's house on Sunday I shall set off home tomorrow morning by an early train & I hope in time for Church: if not I shall come at all events on Monday for a night or two. . . ."

From the Hon. James Stuart Wortley to Lady Wharncliffe

"DRUMLANRIG, October 11, 1845.

". . . I saw Lord Wenlock & two of the brothers at York who were all very hearty & friendly with me, and I rode over from Bishopthorpe to Eserick during the Races in the hope of being allowed to pay a visit while the company were on the racecourse. However I met Lord Wenlock in Eserick village & he turned me back because everybody was at home, but I think he was not displeased at my attempt & promised to explain it to his daughter. The matter is in an odd state, but I have no fear of the eventual result, & I long for the time when I shall be able to make you better acquainted with one of the most lovely and *lovable* characters you have ever met with.

"We came in for a Ball at Dumfries here last night to which the poor Duke & Duchess were obliged to go 18 miles; but as we only arrived just as they were starting we escaped. I have seen very little of this place yet but it appears superb. . . .

"I go on to Bute on Monday or perhaps Tuesday."

From the Hon. James Stuart Wortley to Lady Wharncliffe

“MOUNTSTUART, October 15, 1845.

“ . . . In my letter to Georgy I have given her my first impression of Lady Bute,¹ which is not *very* favourable, but I will write again to you on this subject when I know her a little better & have seen more of her ; but she does not seem easy to get on with.

“ We spent two very agreeable days at Drumlanrig & nothing could exceed the kindness & goodnature of our host & hostess ; they certainly are the very patterns of all that is to be desired of people in their great station. Our party was a very agreeable one & we were very merry & jolly. What a splendid place it is ! Upon the whole I think it realises my ideas of a grand private residence more perfectly than any one I ever saw. Such magnificence, with so much comfort & enjoyment ! . . . ”

From the Hon. James Stuart Wortley to Lady Wharncliffe

“ ESCRICK, October 26, 1845.

“ . . . The Wenlocks dont go to Town till about the 15th, and I very much fear from what you say that you will not be there. I almost think you might ask them to take Wortley in their way ; for, thank Heaven ! I believe I have every reason to be confident & happy although the *word* is not spoken, and may still for some time be withheld. . . . ”

From the Hon. James Stuart Wortley to Lady Wharncliffe

“ YORK, October 28, 1845.

“ . . . Make your mind easy, Dearest Mams ; but you, as well as I, must have patience. I am as happy as the day is long, and I have *promised to give up smoking*. I am not at liberty to say that I am actually accepted, but you must understand a hint like this.”

¹ Sophia, daughter of 1st Marquess of Hastings. Married, 1845, as his second wife, John, 2nd Marquess of Bute.

From the Hon. James Stuart Wortley to Lady Wharncliffe

" LONDON, November 4, 1845.

" . . . I found the poor Governor still very unwell & uneasy but much better (as his servant & he himself told me) than he had been ; & my sitting with him for two or three hours last night evidently did him good & raised his spirits. If he dont get better I take for granted that you will come up, & if it kept you here over the 14th when the Wenlocks come, I should be very glad.

" Pray tell Mary¹ that I persuaded Miss Lawley to go to the Harewood Ball partly for the sake of meeting her & her mother, & that she is prepared to meet them with all warmth & affection, though of course (unless *she* begins it) they will make no direct allusion. . . ."

From the Hon. James Stuart Wortley to Lady Wharncliffe

" LONDON, November 7, 1845.

" . . . Of course my Father will give you more news from London than I possess. There is a story in the Morning Chronicle of Lady Adela Villiers having *disappeared* from her father's house at Brighton ; I have not yet heard where she is supposed to have flown to. . . ."

From the Hon. James Stuart Wortley to Lady Wharncliffe

" LONDON, November 8, 1845.

" I daresay you will be curious about the fate of poor Lady Adela Villiers. They say a letter was received from her this morning from *Carlisle*, and that her *husband* is Captain Ibbetson of the 11th, and the son of a Proctor in Doctor's Commons. Alas ! for all the grand schemes of poor Lady Jersey ; it is a great, though perhaps not a wholly unmerited fall for her pride, and poor Lord Jersey is said to be heartbroken about it.

" I have nothing more to tell you of my own concerns as I am not allowed to correspond, and I am in

¹ Mary Caroline, eldest daughter of 2nd Lord Wharncliffe. Married, 1847, Henry, 3rd Marquess of Drogheda, K.P.

anxious hopes of receiving some account of Harewood from Georgy or Mary.

"I have been to day to order a picture of Grant¹ with Lord Wenlock's leave."

From the Hon. James Stuart Wortley to Lady Wharncliffe

"LONDON, November 18, 1845.

"Thank God! My Dearest Mams, all is now settled and I am a happy and accepted Lover! They arrived in Town last night, and this morning I went by previous arrangement to receive her decision from her own lips. . . . I feel that I have secured a treasure beyond price, and I look forward with delight to the devotion of my future life to the study of her happiness. . . . Now that all is settled nothing can exceed their evident joy at the conclusion, or their kind cordiality to me. I am desired by dear Jane herself to tell you how *very very* sensible she has been of your kindness and of your *appreciation* of her motives, & she longs to tell you so herself.

"I am going to dine in Berkeley Square,² & we *all* go at 9 o'clock for her first sitting to Grant for her picture. About $\frac{1}{2}$ p. 10 I hope to see my Father come in to Berkeley Square, where he will be received by the whole family with every cordiality. It is manifest that they are all, father, mother & brothers really delighted.

"I only wish you could have been here with my Father. . . ."

The letter that follows from Lady Wharncliffe is very human. In it we see distinctly the struggle between reluctance to give up the best beloved son to a woman as yet unknown and unloved by her, and the wish to show sympathy for him.

¹ This is a portrait of the Hon. Jane Lawley (afterwards Mrs. James Stuart Wortley), painted by Sir Francis Grant, P.R.A. She is riding a white half-bred Arab mare named Lily. Mrs. Wortley was celebrated for the beauty of her seat on horseback.

² No. 29 Berkeley Square was the London residence of Lord and Lady Wenlock.

From Lady Wharncliffe to the Hon. James Stuart Wortley

“WORTLEY HALL, *Sunday*.

“What an unnatural Mother you must think me my dearest Jem for not having yet answer’d your two delightful letters, especially the *last*. I will explain all about it when I can write in peace; but what with my *many* guests, & evening Church, & writing a line to the Governor, I have not a moment to spare to day. I shall only therefore add at present that I think I may now be *allow’d thro’ you* to send my *love* to Miss L. & beg you will tell her if you approve of it, that I respect her *motive* for delay so much that I will faithfully keep up the *mystery*, tho’ everybody *laughs* at me when I look *grave* and *discreet*! God bless you, your Father cannot come back to me at present. He has still a great deal of gout flying about him, but manages to get to his Cabinets.”

From Lord Wharncliffe to Lady Wharncliffe

“COUNCIL OFFICE,

“*Wednesday, November 19.*

“I did not arrive in London till past 9, as the train was near an hour after its time at Derby. Upon my arrival I found a note from Jem telling me that his affair was quite settled, and that we were at liberty to announce it to every body. I take for granted he had written to you this comfortable intelligence. He added that he was to dine at Lord Wenlock’s at $\frac{1}{2}$ p. 6, after which they were to adjourn to Grant’s for her to have her first sitting, and to return to Berkeley Square by $\frac{1}{2}$ p. 10, when he begged me to go there, which I did, was admirably received, and remained there till near $\frac{1}{2}$ p. 12. Nothing could be more cordial and comfortable. I took the young lady by surprise and kissed her hand when I first went in, which she took very quietly.

“Today I dine there at 7 and go with them all to Grant’s.

"I shall take the first good opportunity of telling her that we have watched with great anxiety, and sometimes with pain, the circumstances that have occurred to create these misunderstandings by which the present happy posture of affairs has been so long delayed, that we have been impatient to assure her of our most cordial approbation of Jem's choice, and that we are prepared to receive [her] into the family, not only with cordiality, but as if she was our own real daughter.

"So much for that. Now for the probabilities of my motions. We have a Council tomorrow. On Friday Jem & I go down to St. Leonards to attend poor Dundas's ¹ funeral on the following day, and on Tuesday in next week we have a Cabinet, and therefore Wednesday (this day week) is the earliest day I can get back, and hope to be able to do so. . . .

"I hope Per ² will not fidget away before I get back."

From the Hon. James Stuart Wortley to Lady Wharncliffe

"CURZON STREET,

" $\frac{1}{2}$ p. 5, December 11.

"I insisted upon his seeing Dr. Meryon this morning, and he has met Higham here this evening. I am sorry to say that my Father is still very unwell & uncomfortable, but both Meryon & Higham are very positive in saying that there is no reason for alarm. Meryon says it is gouty although there is no indication of *active* gout. They agree with me that there is very little chance of his being able to leave London in less than a week, but still he is very anxious that you should not come up. . . .

"Johnny Russell has been down to the Queen, & though some Whigs pretend to doubt whether he will take the Government, I have no doubt that he will & *dissolve*."

For some time Peel had been meditating the repeal of the Corn Laws. The arguments of the Manchester school so powerfully expressed by Cobden and Bright; the wretched

¹ See p. 121, Vol. II.

² Lady Louisa Percy.

state of the farm labourers all over the country ; and, finally, the terrible famine in Ireland, had convinced Peel of the necessity for this measure. The *Times* in its issue of December 4, 1845, announced prematurely Peel's intention to abolish the Corn Laws. It was this communication to the *Times* which is made the leading incident in Meredith's *Diana of the Crossways*. It was not, however, "Diana", nor her supposed prototype, Mrs. Norton, but the prosaic Lord Aberdeen who divulged the secret. Peel, unable to carry the whole of his Cabinet with him, resigned on December 6.

John Russell, who on November 22 had written his famous Edinburgh letter demanding Repeal of the Corn Laws, was summoned by the Queen. But the Whigs—or Liberals, as they were now called—were at that moment in a considerable minority in the House of Commons. They realised that they would depend entirely on the support of the Tories, and warned by the difficulties of 1832, they shrank from attempting to pass Repeal through the Lords.

Greville in his *Memoirs* relates many conversations with Lord Wharncliffe in the early days of December. On Saturday the 13th he says: "I called on Wharncliffe who was still ill in bed and very low. He complained of the *Times* for saying that the Duke of Wellington had changed his mind. He said 'it was hard upon the old man who had behaved admirably throughout'." Lord Wharncliffe goes on to tell Greville that Peel had resolved to repeal the Corn Laws, but only provided he could do so with a unanimous Cabinet.

From the Hon. James Stuart Wortley to Lady Wharncliffe

"LONDON, December 12, 1845.

"... There was to be a meeting at Lord John Russells to day at $\frac{1}{2}$ p. 2, and hitherto he is supposed to have made very little progress in the formation of his Government. Some of the Whigs still hold the language of it's being impossible to form a Government that can stand, & Macaulay is quoted as having said as much. but I attribute very little importance to these 'self-denying' difficulties, & expect to see the list come out

in a very few days. One difficulty is supposed to be Palmerston & the Foreign Office, which Johnny is likely to be unwilling to give him, & he unwilling to forego. Lord Clarendon however is talked of to fill that office.

“The cause of the break up is supposed in a few words to have been this : Peel & Graham were seized with a *scarcity* panic, & they & Lord Clarendon wanted to open the Ports in October & to alter the Corn Laws. They were resisted by some of the Cabinet, & being unable to meet Parliament as a united Cabinet, they thought it better to resign. The indignation of the party is intense & the surprize of the general public unbounded.

“20 *m. p.* 5.

“Higham has just come in again & desires me to say that he finds my father decidedly better. . . . Higham thinks the negus has answered & has given him leave to have some more.”

From the Hon. James Stuart Wortley to Lady Wharncliffe

“LONDON, December 13, 1845.

“Thank God ! my Father is really very much better. . . . Higham is anxious that you should *not* come up because he thinks it will be better for him to go at once into the country in four or five days. I think you need no longer be in the least uneasy.

“John Russell is said to be in great difficulties, & has not yet succeeded in forming a Ministry. Lord Palmerston & Lord Lansdowne are said, both of them, to decline to go with him for an immediate repeal of the Corn Laws. In short the opinion is gaining ground that Peel will have to construct a Government & carry a moderate measure of Corn Law Repeal after all. There are no bounds to the abuse of Peel by the majority of the country gentlemen & agriculturists.”

From the Hon. James Stuart Wortley to Lady Wharncliffe

“LONDON,

“Tuesday, December 16, 1845.

“ . . . I put off my journey to Torquay to day, but as they assure me there is no reason why I should not go away, and as John is on the spot, I shall go down to-morrow. It is a most tedious and troublesome attack and has no doubt been brought on in great measure by anxiety about public affairs.

“Nothing is yet known of the result of the meeting at Johnny Russell’s to day, but the general expectation now is that they will form a Government & propose total Repeal.”

From the Hon. James Stuart Wortley to Lady Wharncliffe

“TORQUAY, December 18, 1845.

“As suspense at a distance is always more trying than even some uneasiness when near, I rejoice to think that my letter will probably meet you in London. I thought the poor Governor certainly better the night before last, or I should not have come away even under my *peculiar* circumstances ; but both the Doctors assured me that there was no ground for uneasiness, and as John was left with him I could not resist the attractions of this place, and here I am happy and enchanted. The Great Western unlike our Railroad really keeps it’s time, & I reached Exeter yesterday in two *minutes within* 4½ hours. I left London at ¼ to 10 & arrived at Exeter at 13 minutes past 2 o’clock, and got here before 6.

“I am happy to say I found them all pretty well here ; Lady Wenlock entirely restored & Lord Wenlock very decidedly better & with little or no cough. My *own Jane* is looking more beautiful than usual, & is radiant with happiness and contentment. Under these circumstances politics have lost some of their interest for me, notwithstanding the *crisis*. I think there will be no dissolution and if so which party takes the Government *at present* is of less importance. . . .”

On December 19, 1845, Lord Wharncliffe died of suppressed gout and apoplexy at 15 Curzon Street.¹ The end came so suddenly that neither his wife nor his son James were with him.

Those who have read these letters will realise how long and usefully Lord Wharncliffe had served his country. We do not claim for him that he was a great statesman, but he was the type of statesman who is of infinite value in our political life. He was not only extremely capable and honest, he was far more fair-minded and clear-sighted than the majority of his associates. He could see beyond the mere party point of view, and having seen, he had the courage to speak his mind. Whether we find him as a young man moving an Address to the Prince Regent to form a strong and efficient ministry, seconding Wilberforce's Resolution in the Commons which aimed at an amicable arrangement between George IV. and his intractable wife, collecting round himself and Lord Harrowby the small band of followers which enabled Lord Grey to carry the Reform Bill through the House of Lords, or insisting on justice for the detested O'Connell—he shows always independence of character and breadth of view.

Greville, though at various times he says belittling things of him, as he did indeed of all his contemporaries, after his death pays a fine tribute to him. "Perhaps the moment of his life when he appeared to the greatest advantage was when he stood up in the House of Lords and prevented the Tory peers from swamping the decision of the Law Lords in O'Connell's case. . . . He had a warmth of affection and steadiness of friendship, a simplicity both of manners and character which endeared him to his family and his friends, and no man ever died with fewer enemies, with more general good-will, and more sincerely regretted by everyone belonging to or intimate with him."

In the Cabinet Lord Wharncliffe is believed to have opposed the Repeal of the Corn Laws, but Peel thought that in time he would have been able to bring him over to his views. Most probably he was right in this. His son, James, became a thoroughgoing Peelite, voting for Repeal and in every way supporting his leader.

¹ Afterwards called Wharncliffe House.

From Queen Victoria to Lady Wharncliffe

“ WINDSOR CASTLE,
 “ December 21, 1845.

“ MY DEAR LADY WHARNCLIFFE

“ I did not write yesterday to break in on your grief at this moment of severe trial & affliction ; but I cannot longer delay expressing to you how sincerely we sympathise with you, and how much grieved we were to hear of the loss of *one* who has been for some years in my Government, and whom as well as yourself I had the pleasure of *knowing* for many years.

“ We sincerely hope that your health has not & will not suffer from this severe and sudden shock, and pray believe me always

“ Yours sincerely

“ VICTORIA R.”

A few days after Lord Wharncliffe's death his daughter, Caroline Talbot, says :

“ I will not go on writing about what we are feeling, words can hardly express my sense of what we have lost, for the retrospect is one of unbroken kindness & affection such as is seldom equalled. . . .”

Very few of Lady Wharncliffe's letters written after her husband's death have been preserved. There are, however, many letters to her from her son James. During the last years of her life he wrote to her nearly every day. From these we learn that after many vicissitudes Lady Wharncliffe established herself at No. 45 Lower Grosvenor Street with her sister-in-law, Mrs. Dundas, with whom she was on terms of the greatest affection.

James's letters deal with politics of the day, and are many of them of considerable interest. It is, however, a completely new phase of politics. Gladstone and Disraeli have taken the place of Melbourne and Peel in the public eye. We hear of Disraeli's “ want of taste and tact ” ; his being “ pert and saucy in tone, weak in statement and defence, but brilliant

in his rash attack upon the different sections of Opposition ". Of Gladstone's " speaking beautifully, placing *us* in the best possible position as the Conservative friends of a Free Trade policy ".

In a letter about the private affairs of his brother-in-law, Francis Lawley, James speaks of Gladstone as " not in the least a man of the world, but certain to behave well and generously on any subject ".

We must not, however, be tempted to quote from these letters, though they may be of use to some future historian. There remains only to be given a short summary of the family history after Lord Wharncliffe's death.

In January 1846 James Stuart Wortley was offered by Sir Robert Peel the post of Judge Advocate-General, and a seat on the Privy Council. " This offer ", he tells his mother, " was made in the handsomest and most flattering manner, with the strongest expression of entire confidence in me, and the anxiety of himself and Graham to give me opportunities of distinguishing myself in the House of Commons upon other matters besides those connected with the office."

James was also told by the Duke of Buccleuch that the Queen had expressed her pleasure in having Mr. Wortley in an office with the holder of which she had so much communication, and often on such painful subjects.¹

On May 6, 1846, James Stuart Wortley and Jane Lawley were married, going to Nuneham Park, near Oxford, for their honeymoon. In the same year the engagement took place of Mrs. James Stuart Wortley's eldest brother, Richard Beilby Lawley, to Lady Elizabeth Grosvenor, thus making for one of the writers of this book a double link with the Grosvenor family.

In the year 1850 James tells his mother that he had been offered, and accepted, the Recordship of London. " A more complete surprize ", he says, " never came upon any man." This office he held until the end of 1856, when he became Solicitor-General in Lord Palmerston's Government.

Meanwhile, in 1852, he had been re-elected as M.P. for

¹ The Judge Advocate-General has the revision of all decisions made by Courts-martial. These sometimes involve death sentences. It was at that time a political appointment.

Bute, and had bought No. 3 Carlton Gardens for his London home.

In 1852 the death of Lady Wharncliffe's sister-in-law, Mrs. Dundas, had broken up their very happy *ménage* in Grosvenor Street. This loss was followed in 1853 by one still greater in the death of her son-in-law, John Talbot. He had done brilliantly well at the Bar—so well, indeed, that he had been tempted to overwork himself. Railways had brought an immense increase of business to the legal profession, and John had specially distinguished himself in this branch of the law. His widow, Caroline—or “Missy”, as she is called in these letters—lived at Falconhurst, the home in Kent which she and her husband had built for themselves, until her death in 1876. Her two sons were John Talbot, for many years M.P. for Oxford, and Edward Talbot, who became Bishop of Rochester, and later held for many years the bishopric of Winchester.

The career of her son James, the happiness of his married life, the arrival at frequent intervals of grand-children, must have been elements of great joy in the last years of Lady Wharncliffe's life.

After the death of James's father-in-law the new Lord Wenlock lent Canwell Hall, in Staffordshire, to his sister and her husband. Here Lady Wharncliffe paid many visits to her son Jem and his family.

A year before her death another terrible grief came to darken her life. Her eldest son, John, 2nd Lord Wharncliffe, died of consumption at Wortley in the year 1855. Although there have been frequent mentions of John Stuart Wortley through these memoirs, he still remains something of a shadow to us. The extracts given from Lady Granville's *Letters* show him to have been in her opinion quite peculiarly pleasing and attractive,¹ though with faults of temper and temperament which made her doubtful as to the kind of husband he would make. His marriage, however, with Georgiana Ryder was very happy. He contested three elections unsuccessfully for his party, but in 1841 he won a great triumph for the Tories in the West Riding of Yorkshire. Besides being an enlightened agriculturist, he was

¹ See p. 333, Vol. I.

something of an author. He wrote an *Inquiry into the True Award of an Equitable Adjustment between the Nation and its Creditors*, which was answered by William Cobbett in *Four Letters to the Hon. John Stuart Wortley*. He wrote many other pamphlets, and also translated Guizot's *Life of George Monk, Duke of Albemarle*.

On April 23, 1856, Elizabeth Caroline Mary, around whose life these memoirs have centred, died at No. 45 Lower Grosvenor Street. Strangely enough, there are no letters relating to her death.

To the day of his death James Stuart Wortley always spoke of his mother with the most adoring affection. Her daughter-in-law, Jane, spoke too of her extraordinary charm, and of a gift of loving which she had, and which endeared her to everyone. Susan, Lady Wharncliffe,¹ the widow of John's eldest son Edward (afterwards the 1st Earl of Wharncliffe), remembers being taken to see her during her engagement, and that her fiancé, a vigorous young man of over six feet, seized the little old lady in his arms and carried her round the room, to punish her for some joke that she had made at his expense.

There only remain a few further details to be given of James Stuart Wortley's life. The career which had begun so brilliantly was gravely interrupted in the winter of 1856-57. Riding one frosty day, James's horse slipped and came down with him, injuring his spine. Owing to his wife's illness at the time, he took no remedial measures until it was too late, and a very severe illness ensued. In April 1857 he resigned the Solicitor-Generalship. Meanwhile the Speakership, which had fallen vacant about the time of his accident, was kept open for him for some weeks. He used, however, to say that on the whole he thought he should have declined it, as it had always been his ambition to be Lord Chancellor.

An interval of better health ensued, during which, in 1859, James became a candidate for the West Riding of Yorkshire, but was beaten by Sir J. W. Ramsden and Sir Francis Crossley. Once more his health failed him, paralysis set in, and for the rest of his life he was entirely disabled.

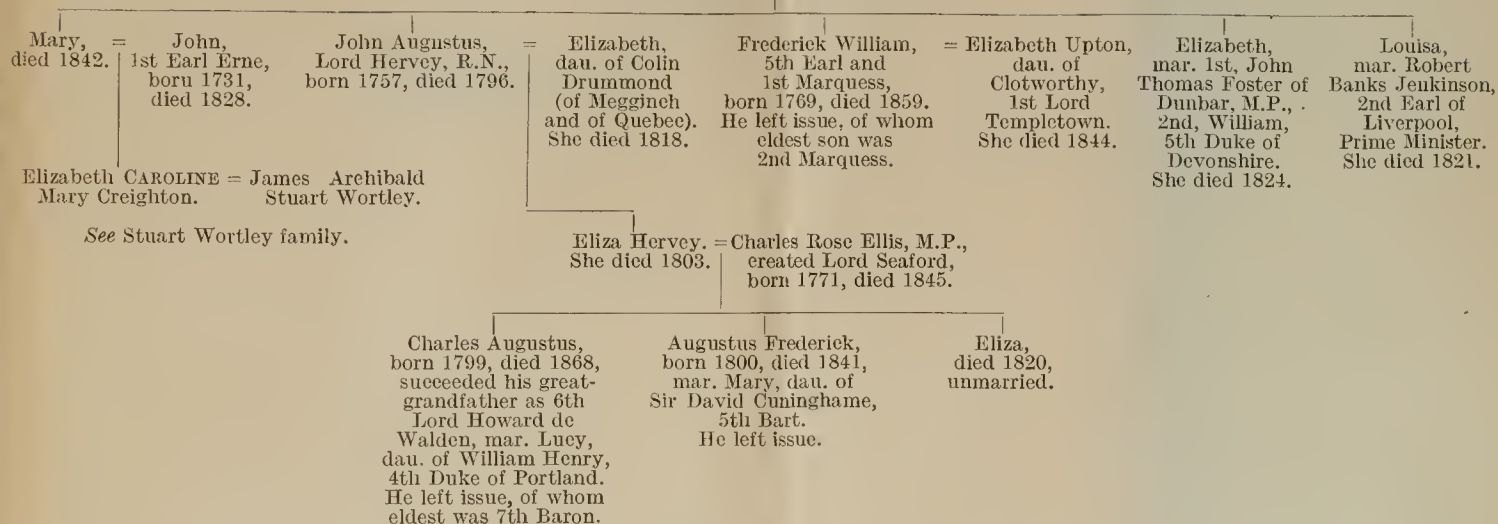
¹ She died at the age of ninety-three in May 1927.

The extraordinary cheerfulness and patience with which he submitted to the complete shipwreck of his life, his fortitude in bearing pain, and the unfailing sweetness of his temper, still stand out in the memory of his children. He died at Belton House, Grantham, on August 22, 1881.

His second son, Charles Beilby, as will be seen from the memoir on p. ix, Vol. I., carried on the family tradition in politics. It was to his intense interest in family history that we owe the first stages in the compilation of these memoirs. His untimely death in the spring of 1926 has left to his collaborator the sad task of finishing them alone.

HERVEY FAMILY

FREDERICK, BISHOP OF DERRY, = Elizabeth,
 4th Earl of Bristol, dau. of
 5th Lord Howard de Walden, Sir Jermyn Davers
 born 1730, died 1803. of Rushbrook.
 She died 1800.



John,
4th Earl,
1st Marquess of Bute,
born 1744, died 1814,
had issue.

James
Wortley,
" inhe-
est-
born 1

John, M.P.,
died 1797, unmarried.

JAMES ARCHIBALD STUART =
WORTLEY, M.P.,
created Baron Wharncliffe,
Lord Privy Seal,
President of the Council,
born 1776, died 1845.

ELIZABETH CAROLINE
MARY CREIGHTON,
dau. of John,
1st Earl Erne,
born 1779, died 185

John,
M.P. for Co. of
Yorkshire,
2nd Baron
Wharncliffe,
born 1801,
died 1855.

= Georgiana Ryder,
dau. of Dudley,
1st Earl of
Harrowby,
died 1884.

Edward,
born 1827, died 1899,
3rd Baron and 1st
Earl of Wharncliffe,
mar. Susan Charlotte
Lascelles, dau. of Henry
3rd Earl of Harewood.
She died 1927.

Francis
born 1829, died 1891,
mar. Maria, dau. of
John Bennett Martin
of Worsboro',
had issue,
Francis John,
2nd Earl of Wharncliffe
and others.

James Frederick,
born 1833,
died 1870,
unmarried.

Mary,
mar. Henry,
3rd Marquess of
Drogheda, K.P.
She died 1896.

Cicely Susan,
mar. Henry Scott,
son of 5th Duke
of Buccleuch,
created Baron
Montagu of
Beaulieu.
She died 1915.

m.
c.
2nd
S

STUART WORTLEY FAMILY

JOHN, 3RD EARL OF BUTE, K.G., Prime Minister, born 1713, died 1792. = Mary, dau. of Edward Wortley Montagu of Wortley, Yorks, and of Lady Mary Pierrepont, created Baroness Mountstuart of Wortley, died 1794.

John Stuart = Margaret, dau. of Sir David Cuninghame, 3rd Bart., died 1808.

Frederick, born 1751, died 1802, unmarried.

Charles, General, Kt. of the Bath, Governor of Minorca, fought in American War of Independence, born 1753, died 1801.

Louisa, dau. of Lord Vere Bertie, 3rd son of, Duke of Ancaster.

William, D.D., Archbishop of Armagh, born 1755, died 1823, leaving issue.

= Sophia, dau. of Thomas Penn of Stoke Poges.

and six daughters :
Mary, mar. James, 1st Earl of Lonsdale.
Jane, mar. George, Earl Macartney.
Jane, mar. Hugh, 2nd Duke of Northumberland.
Caroline, mar. John, 1st Earl of Portarlington.
Augusta, mar. Captain Andrew Corbet.
Louisa, died unmarried.

George, born 1783, died 1813, unmarried.

Mary, mar. Rt. Hon. William Dundas, M.P. for Edinburgh, died 1855.

Louisa, mar. George, Lord Lovaine, afterwards 2nd Earl of Beverley and 5th Duke of Northumberland, died 1848, had issue :
1, Algernon, 6th Duke ;
2, Joseceline ; 3, George ;
4, Henry ;
1, Louisa, died unmarried ;
2, Margaret, mar. Edward, 2nd Lord Hatherton.

Charles, G.C.B., Ambassador to France, created Lord Stuart de Rothesay, inherited Highcliffe Castle, Hants, born 1779, died 1845.

= Elizabeth Margaret Yorke, dau. of Philip, 3rd Earl of Hardwicke died 1867.

John James, R.N. = born 1782, died 1811.

Albinia, dau. of Rt. Hon. John Sullivan, had issue, one son, General Charles Stuart.

Charlotte, mar. Charles, Earl Canning, K.G., died at Calcutta, 1861.

Louisa, mar. Henry, 3rd Marquess of Waterford, K.P., died 1891.

Charles, Capt. 10th Foot Guards, born 1802, died 1844.

= Emmeline, dau. of John, 5th Duke of Rutland.

James, Q.C., P.C., M.P. for Halifax and Co. of Bute, Judge Advocate-General, Recorder of London, Solicitor-General.

= Jane Lawley, dau. of Paul Beilby, 1st Baron Wenlock, died 1900.

Caroline, mar. John Chetwynd Talbot, son of Charles, 2nd Earl Talbot, had issue, John Gilbert, P.C., M.P. for Oxford, Edward, Bishop of Winchester.

Henry, Colonel, 1830, 1890, Augusta, Colonel Hoyle, Maria, dau. of Gibbuis.

Victoria, Maid of Honour to Queen Victoria, mar. Sir William Welby, Bart. She died 1912.

Archibald Johu, born 1849, died 1905, mar. Eleanor, dau. of — Bromley, Esq.

Charles Beilby, P.C., K.C., M.P. for Sheffield, born 1851, died 1926, created Baron Stuart of Wortley, mar. 1st, Beatrice, dau. of Thomas Adolphus Trollope, and 2nd, Alice Caroline, dau. of Sir John Millais, Bart., P.R.A.

Mary, mar. Ralph, 2nd Earl of Lovelace.

Margaret, mar. Reginald, son of Henry, 3rd Earl Talbot and 18th Earl of Shrewsbury, Major-General, K.C.B., Governor of Victoria, Australia.

Blanche, mar. Frederick Firebrace, Colonel R.E.

Caroline, mar. Norman de l'Aigle Grosvenor, 3rd son of Robert, 1st Lord Ebury, Gren. Guards, M.P.

Katharine, mar. Neville Lyttelton, 3rd son of George, 4th Lord Lyttelton, General, P.C., Chief of General Staff, Governor of Royal Hospital, Chelsea.

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